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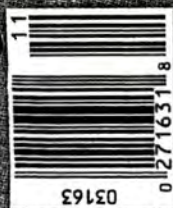
An Exclusive Interview

Plus: How Bobby Kennedy
Seduced New York

Rage Against
the Machine
The Revolutionaries
of Rock

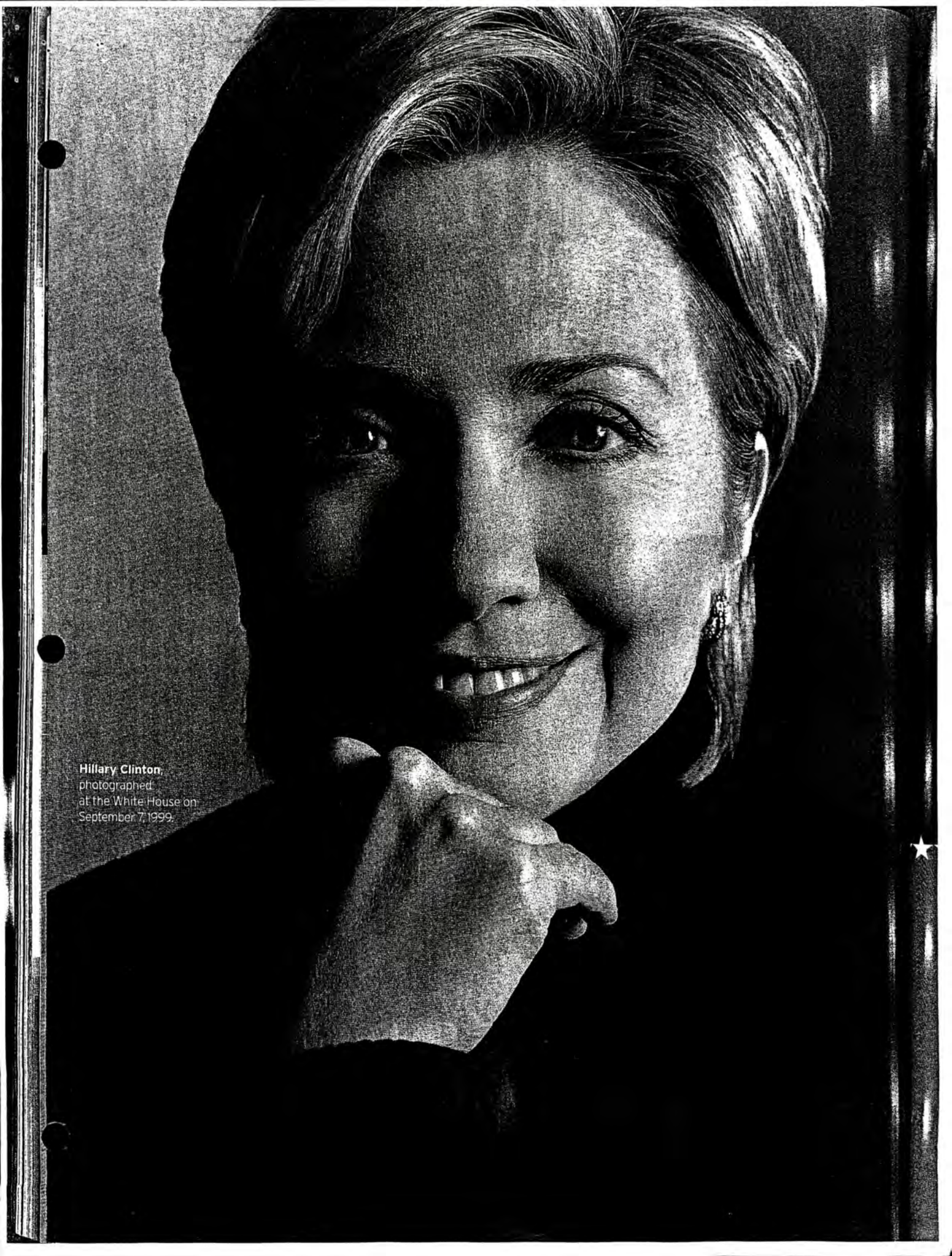
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Arnold's Plan to Fix America

A high-contrast, black and white portrait of Hillary Clinton. She is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile, her hand resting under her chin. Her hair is styled in a short, layered cut. The lighting is dramatic, with strong highlights on her face and hand, and deep shadows on the left side of her face and the background. The background is dark and textured.

Hillary Clinton,
photographed
at the White House on
September 7, 1999.

After the crushing defeat
of Hillary Clinton's health care reform bill
in 1994, few expected the first lady to play a prominent role
in Washington. While the
press and her Republican enemies moved on to other
targets, Hillary lowered her profile and used subtler channels
to wield power within the White House and
on Capitol Hill. Running for Senate just makes it official.

*By Carl Sferrazza Anthony.
Portraits by Michael Thompson*

hillary's hidden power

On November 29, 1994, three weeks after the Republican party seized control of Congress for the first time in 40 years, Hillary Rodham Clinton addressed a symposium on the role of first ladies. In the gold-encrusted ballroom of Washington's Mayflower Hotel, a hushed audience had gathered expecting to hear Hillary ooze contrition—the congressional defeat of her ambitious agenda for health care reforms and the Republicans' massive victory had become synonymous in the public's imagination.

But when a poised and confident Hillary began to speak, it was obvious that the first lady had no intention of offering the expected mea culpas. She would continue to be active in public life, she declared. If she did otherwise, she added, "my husband and friends would probably have me committed. I, for better or worse, have spoken out on public issues for 25 years. Some kind of first lady amnesia would not have been very credible."

Such conviction was not isolated to large gatherings in front of television cameras. At a White House dinner a few weeks later, Hillary was in a similarly feisty mood, telling a guest, "Listen, I'm a big girl. I can take the hits. I don't mind a real debate on issues."

Yet, of course, things would change after November 1994. And in the months that followed, even the stubborn Hillary had to recognize that all the criticism and vitriol was not really about her health care plan—it was about Hillary herself. The role she had assumed as the engine of reform had sparked a national debate on the power she wielded within the White House. Her harshest enemies—the Hillary-hating crowd of newly elected Republicans on Capitol Hill—were determined to cast her as the most Machiavellian presidential spouse since Edith Wilson took control of the presidency of her infirm husband, Woodrow Wilson, in 1919. To them, she was Lady Clinton, whispering in the ear of her vacillating husband as the couple lay down to sleep at night, ignoring her husband's infidelities because she was more interested in acquiring power for herself.

In the face of such adversity, Hillary recognized that she would have to adapt. She could hold her head high at functions and deliver hollow bromides about issues, but that wasn't why she had come to Washington. If she was going to get anything done, she would have to change the way she was doing it, to make sure that the controversy surrounding her persona would not doom the changes she wanted to make. As Hillary says today, "This was the time of the most intense attacks from Congress—so it was not likely that I was going to testify on anything then." No longer could she act as a sort of unofficial cabinet member, empowered by her husband to take on the administration's biggest challenges. Instead, she would master the behind-the-scenes levers of power, building relationships with the White House staff, cabinet agencies—particularly female cabinet members—and trustworthy friends on Capitol Hill.

Flush with their victories over Hillary and congressional Democrats, the Republicans failed to realize just how successful she would become in this evolution. The inside-the-Beltway media—unable to get close to Hillary and bored by the serious issues she was working on—never paid her doings much attention either. "She has been floundering around in the last couple of years to

try to find some project for herself," Washington social doyenne Sally Quinn said on *Meet the Press* in February 1998. "The real problem for Hillary is her record," *Newsweek* pundit Jonathan Alter wrote in March 1999, assessing her Senate campaign. "She doesn't have one."

Yet by appearing more like a traditional first lady and removing herself from the glare of the media, a former staff member says, "she could get things done." Since 1994, Hillary has accomplished more than many—perhaps most—members of Congress, particularly in the areas of child care, human rights, and health care. But so adeptly has she disguised her influence in Washington that as she prepares to run for Daniel Patrick Moynihan's New York Senate seat next year, there has been no sustained review of exactly what Hillary Clinton has achieved in the White House.

"I think one of the reasons there hasn't been much coverage of what I've done is that there hasn't been one theme to my work," she explains. "It would take a certain amount of effort to follow what I've done, and that's just never been part of political reporting. But in terms of how I spent my days and what I did, I thought that it was pretty much a continuation of what I have always done, working on the same kind of issues, trying to raise them, trying to be strategic in thinking about how to be effective in promoting them, looking for allies. And I resist labeling myself because it's so limiting. I'm realistic, I'm pragmatic, I'm optimistic, and I think I'm patriotic."

Hillary's beliefs and her commitment to them haven't changed since 1994. But her tactics have. And unlike her plan to reform health care, they have succeeded.

The solarium on the third floor of the White House has long been the most private preserve of America's first families. Here in the glass-windowed parlor, Mamie Eisenhower played bridge and Caroline Kennedy had kindergarten classes. There's a terrace surrounding it, where President Eisenhower liked to grill steaks and where Hillary grows her own tomatoes. Cut off from public view, the solarium is decorated with comfortable furniture and political memorabilia, and is the Clintons' favored spot for intimate dinners, birthdays, family gatherings, and games—cards, Boggle, Scrabble. There are cushy, periwinkle-blue sofas and chintz-covered chairs. Scattered about are a rocking chair, homey throw blankets—including one that features an image of Buddy, the president's Labrador—a green-marble-topped coffee table, and another table crowded with Russian nesting dolls featuring the president, Hillary, and Chelsea. Apparently for visiting children, the Clintons have a collection of Beanie Babies, including a husky dog and a bald eagle.

This is where Hillary, wearing a canary-yellow pantsuit and perfect makeup, greets me for the first of two recent interviews in which she agreed to discuss her role in the White House. "We feel very comfortable and extremely well provided for here," she says. But sometimes she has to escape: She sneaks out for occasional walks along the Mall with a single Secret Service agent; and now that Chelsea is in college, she and the president retreat to Camp David more often. When their daughter was in high school, they liked to spend weekends in

town because Chelsea wanted time with her friends.

After the health care debacle in 1994, one of Hillary's challenges was distinguishing her work from her husband's. Her enemies have long maintained that what makes the first lady powerful is the authority she exerts over Bill Clinton, either from intellectual domination or some sort of crass sexual quid pro quo. That misogynistic canard misses the reality of a give-and-take between intellectual partners. The Clintons are so mutually reliant upon each other's political thinking that it is impossible to say where one's ideas stop and the other's begin. It is "very hard to dissect" her influence on the president, Hillary says. "We talk about everything, and have for as long as we've known each other...particularly on issues where we share a common commitment," such as welfare and education. They have their disagreements—for example, Hillary was unhappy with some of the provisions of Clinton's 1993 welfare bill. "I supported the bill," she says, "but I was very concerned about specifics." To fully support Clinton's legislation, Hillary insisted on a continuation of federally supported child care and Medicaid programs. "For her, those two components were absolutely essential to any kind of reform," says Melanne Verveer, the first lady's chief of staff. "Hillary made her views very clear."

When it comes to more formal discussions of policy, Hillary recognizes she is just one source of ideas. "Bill is someone who solicits opinions and advice from a broad range of people," she says. "And I'm one of those people. But depending upon the issue, I could be one of two or one of 100. It's just the way he makes decisions. All you can do is say, 'This is a really important issue, I'm hearing a lot about it, here's what I think about it, and I wish you would take that into consideration.' My perspective might not be as informed as someone else's. So I would not want a president who listened only to one person. It would be a very dangerous situation for the country."

Only if she "thinks it's really important or gets new information" will Hillary persist with her opinion on an issue. "A lot of times, I'll mention it once and that's it," she says. When pressed on issues that she and her husband have disagreed on, she demurs. "Well, you know, I just wouldn't talk about those things." She's starting to talk about them more, but it isn't easy: Hillary's recent criticism of the president's recommendation of clemency for jailed Puerto Rican terrorists was a political fiasco that infuriated Hispanic leaders in New York.

Another reason it's hard for Hillary to talk about policy is that she doesn't believe the press is truly interested. The day after she attended the premiere of *Shakespeare in Love* in December 1998, Hillary delivered a two-hour speech on international violations of children's rights. Her remarks received no coverage and were studiously ignored by the *New York Times'* Maureen Dowd, who devoted a Sunday column to the exploits of "Hollywood Hillary"—the first lady who had attended a movie opening. "There was a time when there were large and real ac-

From top: **Hillary** on her listening tour of New York in September; key advisers (from left) **Jacob Lew**, head of the White House's Office of Management and Budget, **James Wolfensohn**, World Bank president, and **Melanne Verveer**, Hillary's chief of staff; **Hillary** with President **Jerry Rawlings** of Ghana, in 1998.

When Hillary
was 15, she wanted to be an
astronaut
but her mother hoped she would
be the first woman
to serve on the
Supreme Court.





how bobby did it

Like Hillary Clinton, Robert F. Kennedy was called a carpetbagger when he ran for Senate from New York in 1964. Here's how he shed that label and won the race—and what lessons his campaign may hold for the first lady. By Michael Knox Beran

He didn't really want the job. That's what made his campaign so different from what hers will be. Bobby Kennedy's universe had been blown apart the November before he announced his intention to run. He was still coming to terms with the world that rifle fire in Dallas had brought into being when, in the summer of 1964, he made up his mind to seek a Senate seat from New York. He owed it, he believed, to his brother's memory and to his family's traditions; he saw no other way to remain true to both. On a July weekend in Hyannisport, Massachusetts—four months before Election Day—Bobby huddled with Arthur Schlesinger, Averell Harriman, and an old school chum, Dave Hackett, and decided that he would make the race. He qualified his decision only by insisting that Robert Wagner, New York City's mayor and the most prominent Democratic politician in the state, be persuaded to endorse him first. When Wagner endorsed him, the race was on.

His diffident body language revealed the extent of his ambivalence. He half shrank from the new world that Dallas had made for him, half shrank from the klieg lights, the crowds, the cameras. The outward festivities of a campaign were too weirdly incommensurate with his own interior grief. On the day the Warren Report was released, he couldn't bring himself to campaign. He secluded himself in the darkness to mourn alone. How different his almost undesired race was from Hillary Clinton's liberating quest. She runs, in part, to escape the shadow of a presidential husband. Throughout his campaign, Bobby mourned the absence of a presidential brother and dwelled constantly on the memory of a time when he had lived contentedly in the shade.

The term *carpetbagger* doesn't quite capture the problem Bobby faced 35 years ago, or the one Hillary Clinton confronts today. He wasn't the only senatorial hopeful in New York's history to have hailed from another state. One of New York's first senators, Rufus King, had originally been a Massachusetts man. Since Bobby's time, two other out-of-staters have managed to capture his seat. James L. Buckley (William F.'s brother) was a Connecticut resident before he assumed the seat that Bobby held. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Buckley's successor in the Senate, was a Massachusetts resident before he ran for the seat in 1976. Few people cared. The animosity that a candidacy like

Bobby's or Hillary's provokes has as much to do with power as with carpetbagging. What kind of democracy has ours become, the critics ask, when an influential family and its minions can dispose of a Senate seat with the same cavalier arrogance with which an eighteenth-century grandee disposed of a pocket borough? Power corrupts, the civic purist argues, and the dynastic power of a family like the Kennedys or, to a lesser extent, the Clintons, corrupts most effectively of all.

In 1964, the *New York Times* took upon itself the role of protector of the civic faith. The paper ran a series of editorials condemning the "Kennedy blitzkrieg" and voiced many of the same arguments that are today being made about Hillary's anticipated run. Was New York "so poverty-stricken for United States Senate material," the *Times* asked, that it had "to import a young man so obviously nonresident that he is just about to be a Massachusetts delegate to the Democratic National Convention?" Bobby, unlike Hillary, was able to counter his critics by pointing to a large chunk of childhood spent in New York. But he was not about to base his candidacy, he said, on where he had gone to grade school. He instead boldly proclaimed that his very familiarity with power at the highest levels—his service in Washington, the knowledge of national problems it had given him, the methods of problem-solving it had taught him—was his greatest asset. On the late August day on which he officially announced his candidacy, Bobby, standing in front of Gracie Mansion with Mayor Wagner, argued that New York was not "separate from the nation." Because he understood the nation's problems, he asserted, he automatically understood New York's problems, too. This was brazen: Kennedy was in effect saying that he was too valuable a national problem solver—too valuable a national political commodity—not to be given preference by the voters of New York.

Presumptuous, perhaps, but at the same time breathtakingly candid and a good deal more compelling than the well-trodden rhetoric of public service, the "honorable profession" homilies that he and his older brother had cribbed from such patrician statesmen as Franklin Roosevelt and Henry Stimson. Convincing or not, Bobby's strategy worked. Citizens had in the past smiled on the ambition of families like the Adamses and the Roosevelts, and in 1964 New York voters were similarly willing to forgive

Bobby Kennedy for his family's latest act of dynastic audacity. Where power carpetbagging is concerned, Hillary can take comfort in the example of Bobby's campaign.

He came late to the race; she comes early. She has not evinced the slightest interest in any other office; he had been tempted by the vice presidency and had looked seriously at the New York race only after Lyndon Johnson refused to make him his running mate. She has the luxury of large stretches of time in which to attend to the details; he had to scramble. In his rush to find a house in New York, Bobby ended up taking a 25-room Dutch Colonial in Glen Cove, Long Island, that he didn't really like and only rarely used. (As senator, he spent far more time in an apartment he found in Manhattan's United Nations Plaza.) Hillary and the president, on the other hand, looked at houses in a half dozen Westchester County towns before settling on an 11-room Dutch Colonial in Chappaqua.

Questions of timing ended up mattering in Bobby's campaign. They may matter no less in Hillary's. A famous person who decides to make a controversial race can count on two things to shape the way his or her candidacy is received: the power of celebrity—star power, the ability to draw a crowd—and the reality of a past, the record of a life, the thousand little things—words, deeds, sheer idle gossip—that collectively add up to a reputation. Very often famous candidates' reputations will offset the benefits they derive from their celebrity, and at no time will their reputation be more dangerous than at the moment that the effect of celebrity begins to wear off, as it inevitably will when it is subjected to the pressures of a campaign. What famous candidates learn to dread most is that the dazzling glow, which made the entry into the race so strangely, exhilaratingly easy, will begin to fade just as the heat of the campaign itself intensifies, in early to mid-October, leaving them alone with their past during the final, excruciating weeks of the contest. That is what happened to Bobby Kennedy in 1964, and it nearly cost

CONTINUED ON PAGE 140

complishments that she wished to achieve," Dowd wrote mockingly. "Historians will long wonder how Mrs. Clinton came in as Eleanor Roosevelt and left as Madonna."

Hillary is clearly exasperated by such portrayals. "You know, people ask me all the time, 'What has it been like for you here?'" she says. "Certainly, there have been some painful times, some challenging times. But when I look back, what I remember and what I have enjoyed are all the incredible opportunities. I feel blessed about that. I had an opportunity and I had an obligation, and I enjoyed what I did every day. I liked trying to help other people."

That desire to be perceived as a public servant who can transcend personal crisis is not disingenuous. Though her sense of duty can come across as patronizing noblesse oblige, Hillary has been devoted to public service since her teens. She learned the virtue of service from her Methodist father, Hugh Rodham, who took the family on tours of the ghettos of their hometown of Chicago.

Hugh Rodham died in April 1993, but his memory permeates Hillary's life. In October 1997, I joined the first lady and her two brothers, Tony and Hugh, on their first visit to Park Ridge, Illinois, since their parents sold their home 10 years earlier. As we went from room to room, the Rodham children laughed and reminisced about their childhood arguments and their father's carpentry work in the basement. After looking about Hillary's modest bedroom, everyone else turned to leave, but Hillary stayed behind for a moment. She peeked into the narrow closet, then peered through a small window that had once been her view on the world and in a low but audible voice said, "Wow." She had come a long way, but here were her roots.

Since her teenage years, when she spent summers babysitting for the children of Mexican migrant workers, Hillary has worked to make money. When her father declined to pay her full tuition at Yale Law School, she went out and earned it. In the summer of 1969, before starting law school, she shocked her family by getting a job in an Alaskan fish-canning factory. She was fired after she questioned the manager about some tainted product. "They were really dark and spoiled," she recalls. "But I guess nobody wanted to know that."

Hugh Rodham may have instilled in Hillary the importance of working, but it was her mother, the earthy Dorothy Rodham, who taught her to be ambitious. "You may be a girl," her mother told her, "but you can do whatever you choose to do." When Hillary was 15, she wanted to become an astronaut, but Dorothy hoped she would become the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court.

Hillary was not a hippy of the '60s. The wildest personal thing she ever did was paint a flower on her arm, only to wash it off a few hours later. There are no stories of any kind suggesting that she used drugs or indulged in free love—even by association. Devastated by the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., she joined other Wellesley students in a memorial march and wore an armband—but she never took part in sit-ins or riots. During the 1968 Chicago Democratic convention, she went to observe the riots between anti-war demonstrators and the police, not to participate. She did not want to destroy the status quo; she wanted to wake it up and have it take responsibility. She wasn't anti-establishment; she was reestablishment, recognizing that instead of insisting women be given power, they should be allowed to work to get it. She had an essentially conservative faith in proce-

ture. In the early '70s, with Watergate and the Vietnam War, masculine power had never seemed so fragile. Hillary saw an opportunity to prove herself, and that could only be done as she always did things—by working. Rather than drop out as a '60s radical, she got a degree, a briefcase, and a job and went to work as that icon of a later era, the '70s career woman.

When she arrived at the White House, Hillary was eager to break with precedent. She took an office in the West Wing with the president's staff, and placed her aides (except for employees of the Social Office) in the Old Executive Office Building next door. Then, in the winter of 1993, the president announced that his wife would head a White House task force to reform health care. Hillary would marshal the advice of more than 500 experts and a host of aides and present legislation to Congress that would guarantee health care for every American. The message was clear: Hillary was involved in the executive branch of the U.S. government. She had yet to learn that Washington wasn't ready for what critics would sneeringly call a "dual presidency." Nor could she have realized that the Republicans would make her role as reformer more contentious than the legislation itself.

To support her agenda, Hillary hired a group of aides—almost all are women—with similar political inclinations and policy backgrounds. Today her chief of staff is Melanne Verveer, a gentle-voiced, humorous, recent grandmother who started working for Hillary in 1993. A Washington veteran who worked for the liberal interest group People for the American Way from 1984 to 1992, Verveer is less interested in the fripperies that come with heading the first lady's secretariat than with realizing her boss's vision. She is Hillary's pilot, the person in her corner office until 10 at night, hammering out a meeting plan, a speech, or a policy-development proposal.

While her husband has had his problems with staff loyalty, Hillary has not. Key players, such as White House social secretary Capricia Marshall, director of scheduling Patti Solis, special assistant Pam Cicetti, director of special projects Kelly Craighead, director of correspondence Alice Pushkar, and policy adviser Nicole Rabner have been with her since Clinton's inauguration. Although Hillary demands excellence, her solicitousness toward her staff is also famous—whether listening to their personal problems, singing happy birthday to them over the phone, or calling sick relatives. Her closeness with the staff promotes a collegial atmosphere. "She'll just dial around sometimes until she finds the person she wants," Verveer says. "She operates as a staff person. It's not the commandress in chief."

Hillary masterminds much of her own policy research. Rather than delegate to staff, she meets with experts in specific fields, many of whom she has known since the mid-1970s. In her "Eleanor Roosevelt room" in the residence, where she has collected all the ER memorabilia sent to her throughout the years, the first lady keeps the research she has accumulated—"vast pillars of paper," a former aide recalls. "She'll just go through the piles, and she'll say, 'Oh, here, somebody gave me this. Can you look into that?'"

Few of the directions and instructions are conveyed in

writing by Hillary. She rarely uses a computer, and unlike Barbara Bush or Lady Bird Johnson, she has kept no White House diary. "I don't put anything in writing that I don't have to," she explains. The investigations of independent counsel Kenneth Starr have made sure of that.

Hillary thinks out loud with her staff, posing questions, asking for follow-ups. A staff member will return with answers, and Hillary will reply with "five smart questions," a former aide says. "Hopefully, you can answer at least three of them." Then comes the question of whether the issue can be handled through the White House or a cabinet agency, or if it needs congressional support. If the latter is determined, Hillary may seek a sponsor on Capitol Hill, a like-minded Democrat to write legislation or push for its passage. But she's just as likely to decide that an interest group or a foundation is a less controversial—and hence more effective—public face for the policy push. "By determining the best avenue," one aide says, "we get a better result."

Hillary has never restricted herself to the views of policy wonks, and she is determined to meet ordinary Americans. Those meetings usually occur during visits to factories and schools and hospitals and rallies, and to a certain extent they fulfill the traditional "eyes and ears" role of a first lady. On October 28, 1997, after two days of parties in Chicago to mark her fiftieth birthday, Hillary attended one such event in a stale hotel hall. A long line formed at a microphone, and each person related a tale about child support or food stamps or Section 8 housing. Not until the final question from the floor had been answered did Hillary signal her readiness to leave. When at one point someone suggested that she might cut short the Q&A, she responded, "They came out for me. They told me their story. They sat here with me for an hour. The least I can do is listen to them with the same respect that they have given me."

Sometimes she can help. While meeting with Kosovo refugees in Macedonia last May, Hillary ran into Danica Georgieva, who had started a clothing company in Kocani with a U.S. government loan. She showed the first lady some of the high-quality linen blouses she was producing. Georgieva then said that Liz Claiborne was cutting back on orders because of the war in Kosovo, and that she would be forced to lay off much of her workforce. Within three days, Hillary had phoned Claiborne CEO Paul Charron, who remembers the incident vividly.

"I had not known Hillary before," he says. "I had never met her, and I'm not a contributor to the Democratic party. My secretary comes into my office and says, Will you speak with Hillary Clinton? I said something to the effect of, 'You're kidding me.' So I picked up the phone, and she introduced herself and said she had just taken a trip to Macedonia.... Was there anything that could be done there? I said, 'I'm not sure, I can't afford production disruption, but let me see what I can do.' She said, 'I've got another question, Is there any way that we can convert the Macedonian apparel industry to producing goods or providing services in support of the refugees?' I said, 'That's a very good question. Let me get together with some of my friends and see what I can do.'"

Hillary wound up coordinating a joint effort between her office, the State Department, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and Liz Claiborne. Not only

From top: **Hillary** with her closest cabinet ally, **Madeline Albright**, at the twentieth-anniversary celebration of the Congressional Caucus for Women in October 1997; Hillary announces her listening tour at **Senator Moynihan's** farm in July 1999.

did the company maintain the contract, it enlisted industry colleagues to help some of the other threatened factories in Macedonia. "If she had never used the power of her office to raise the questions," Charron says, "quite frankly, we would never have thought of it."

Closer to home, children's health has been a priority for Hillary. On one occasion in 1998, a couple on a rope-line told Hillary about their epileptic child and the paucity of new research to improve the lives of people with the condition. Back at the White House, Hillary fired off questions to her staff about the state of government research on epilepsy. "Just what's the story here?" she asked Verveer. A dossier on epilepsy research was hastily assembled, and when the findings confirmed what the couple had told Hillary, Verveer was asked to make a case for increased funding at a senior staff meeting. Thanks to Hillary's prodding, the National Institutes of Health's budget for epilepsy was increased in the 1999 federal budget.

The work is satisfying for Hillary, but it can take its toll. Onstage before a live audience at the Chicago Historical Society in 1997, Hillary was her typical energetic self. After the session, before heading out to a mammoth party for several thousand people in another part of town, she disappeared into a waiting room. Walking into the room moments later, I saw her collapsed on a folding chair, her head resting against the wall, her eyes shut. She seemed to be hardly breathing. I called to her to make sure she was all right, and when she didn't answer I became alarmed. I looked around only to see the Secret Service and her aides calmly going about their business—this was nothing more than a restorative catnap. Half an hour later, she was on her feet again, giving another speech.

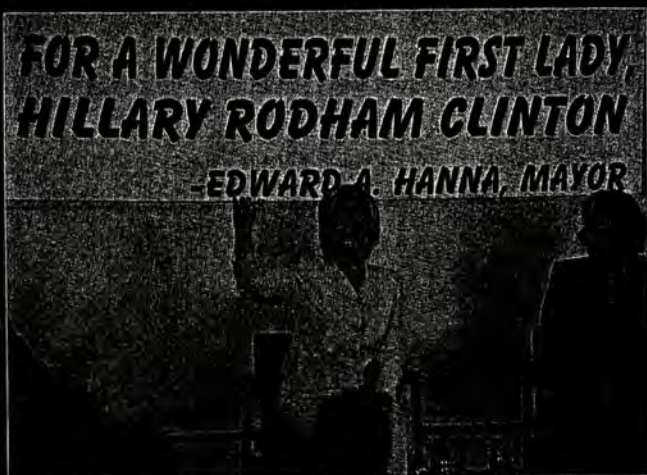
One reason Congress was able to kill Hillary Clinton's health care reform in 1994 was internal White House confusion. The president's staff was preoccupied with the federal deficit and NAFTA, which left the first lady's team to fight for health care on its own. Ira Magaziner, a friend of the Clintons who served as Hillary's chief consultant on health care reform, recalls that the president's "economic, political, and legislative advisers didn't want anything to do with health care," until Clinton's economic programs had passed through Congress. It was "a very awkward situation," one aide reflects now.

Five years later, consultations between the East and West Wings are a much smoother process. Jacob Lew, the director of the Office of Management and Budget at the White House, who worked with Hillary on health care reform, says that she "fits into that better-established set of relationships." So does her staff: Verveer attends key morning meetings in the West Wing with the president's senior staff; several of Hillary's aides work on the Domestic Policy Council, attending the thrice-weekly meetings of the group, which coordinates all the president's domestic initiatives.

"If Hillary feels strongly about something and you're sitting with her in a meeting, you'll know that she feels strongly about it," Verveer says.



"Hillary's views
are one of the most
important
factors as you think through
an idea," says a high-
ranking White House
official.



"I don't think there's ever been a feeling that the first lady's staffers are outlanders or intrusive," says Sidney Blumenthal, who has been a senior adviser to the president since 1997. "They're considered integral. They have a certain esprit de corps, a staff of mostly women who have had enormous political and policy experience."

Hillary herself will occasionally attend senior staff meetings in the West Wing when the issues under discussion are strongly related to her expertise, such as children and health care. She will "listen to somebody saying that's not going to work. Then she will say, 'Well how do we make it work?'" Verveer says. "If she feels strongly about something and you're sitting with her in a meeting, you'll know that she feels strongly about it." In one session with a cabinet secretary this year, Hillary said flatly, "It's unconscionable that the regulations aren't out yet. Why don't we have this done? What are they going to say in two years' time?" She takes these gatherings seriously. "Well, we had the meeting," she'll say. "There were promises made. Let's see what happens now."

The exchange of information between the president's staff and Hillary flows both ways. The president's domestic-policy aides keep her informed of pending legislation that they know will be of interest to her. Or if they're working on an issue that they know she has strong feelings about or expertise in, they'll request her opinion, as they did last spring in the wake of the shooting in Littleton, Colorado. "When a tough decision has to be made, she's going to have the opportunity to offer strategic advice," Lew says. "Her views are one of the important factors as you think things through." Still, there's no evidence that the West Wing capitulates to please the boss's wife. What's more likely is that the president's advisers will meet with Hillary to get a read on how the president is thinking about an issue. One presidential aide says, "The Clintons think so similarly on important issues that she can be a good sounding board to the way he'll approach an issue."

Bill Clinton is an encyclopedia of policy, but even he concedes that his wife is better versed on children's issues than he is. "He sees this as one area where she has tremendous expertise," says Matthew Melmed, who is an informal adviser to Hillary and the director of Zero to Three, an organization that focuses on child-development issues. "He defers to her on this stuff."

Hillary's interest in children dates to her first year at Yale Law School, when she read an article in *Time* about Marian Wright Edelman, the children's-rights advocate who headed a fledgling Washington lobby called the Washington Research Project. When Edelman spoke on the New Haven campus in 1970, Hillary was there. Impressed by what she had heard, Hillary wrote to Edelman asking if she could work for the group over the summer vacation. Edelman had no budget but offered to take her as an unpaid intern. But Hillary secured grant money and went to work. Recognizing a promising student, Edelman recommended Hillary to Senator Walter Mondale's subcommittee on migrant **CONTINUED ON PAGE 135**

From top: **Hillary** at a New York hospital at the start of her listening tour in July; at a Kosovar refugee camp last June with the **president**.

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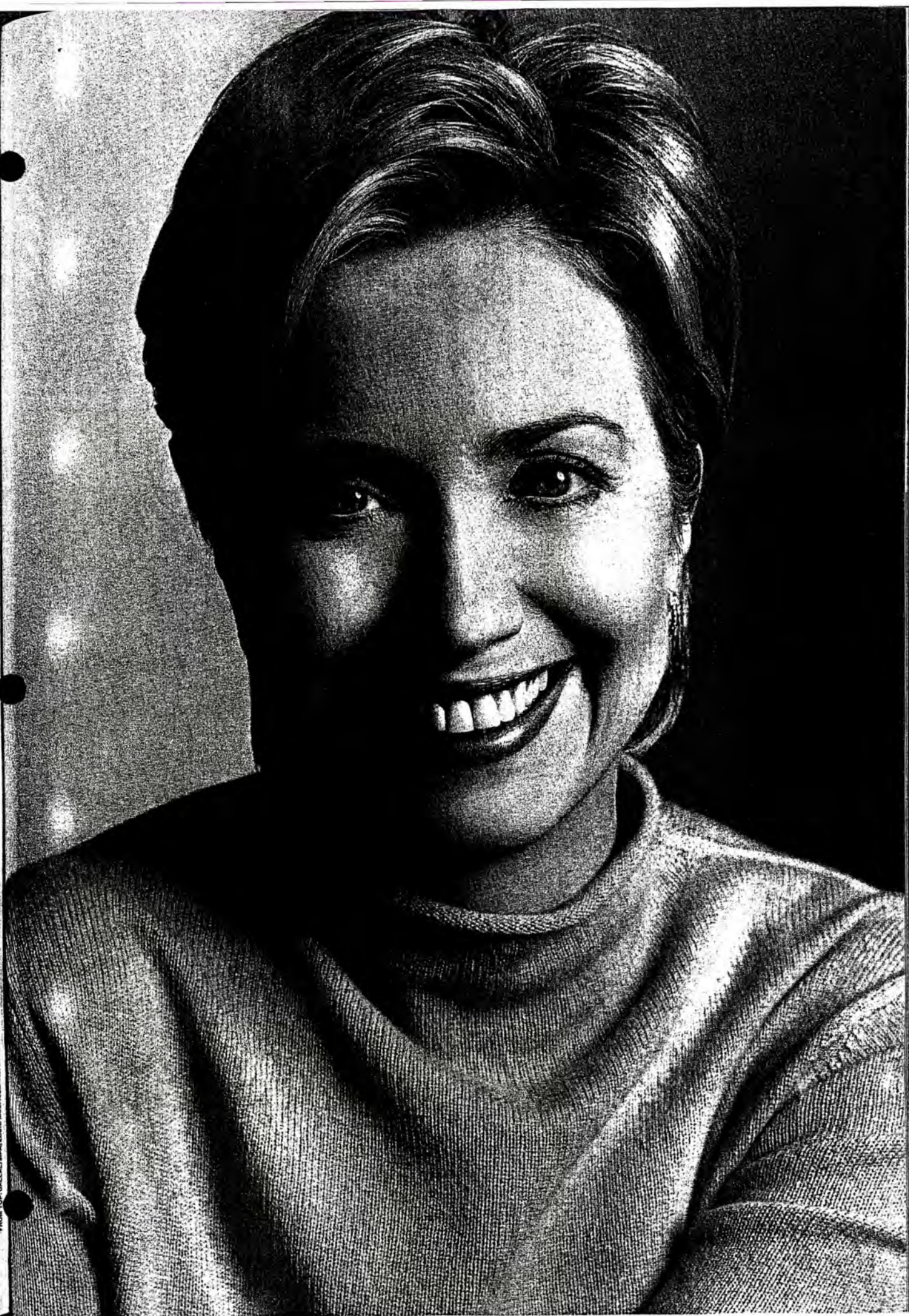
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SMOKING

done. All this happened a year ago. Mann finally sent me a copy of the script a year ago, and I read this bullshit. You mean, the scene with the Shiite Muslim? "Of course." But it's not in the movie. "I know that it's not. But in the movie, [Bergman] is still sitting blindfolded in front of the sheikh." So? "It never took place. He had nothing to do with setting up the interview." We discuss his correspondence with Mann. "I sent him a nice letter. Where the fuck is it?" he says, rustling papers. "Here it is. The file. [It was] a nice letter..." Is it true that the Wigand affair was *60 Minutes'* lowest point? "It wasn't a low point for me. It was a high point because we finally got the piece on the air, and we never, never, never would have gotten it on the air without me. Lowell had nothing to do with getting it on the air. Nothing." (Bergman says that his dogged protests eventually led Wallace to fight for the story again.)

We also discuss Bergman's contention that Hewitt and Wallace are blackballing him from getting work on *60 Minutes II*. First he says it's "laughable." Later on, he adds, "You can rest assured Hewitt ain't going to hire him." That doesn't sound so unreasonable. Why would Bergman, who is now working for PBS's *Frontline* and the *New York Times*, want to return to a network that he has so little respect for?

It is doubtful that a supporting role in a Hollywood movie will erase the reputation of a heavyweight like Mike Wallace, though it may very well deify Bergman. But whatever Michael Mann leads his audience to conclude about these two men, the Wallace-Bergman wars have illustrated one sure truth: In life, as in great journalism and great art, one can be right yet wrong, have integrity yet be fallible, tell the truth yet lie, be well intentioned yet be a traitor.

Last April, Bergman's contract with CBS News expired. The producer, who is participating in the film's publicity campaign and may write a book about the Wigand affair, has not talked to Wallace since then. "There is no relationship," Wallace says. At the end of our interview, Wallace concludes with his uncannily familiar bluntness, "Lowell is a good reporter. Some people have penis envy, some have microphone envy. I hope he finds a job. I just don't want to work next door to him." ☐

MILLENNIUM MAN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 123 back the [budget surplus] because the schools would suffer; we want to build new schools in this country. Excuse me. Since when has the federal government ever built schools?"

He never trusted Democrats. Problem is, he's now losing confidence in Republicans. No vision. No answers. No hope of recapturing the White House unless they change. "We want to know what our party really stands for other than, you know, trim the budget and balance the budget. I understand all that," Arnold notes. "But say what you really stand for rather than going from one convention to the next talking about what we're against—guys like [Pat] Buchanan going up there and speaking about, 'We are anti-gay and we're anti-lesbian and anti-immigration. We are anti-taxation and anti-federal government.'"

Don't forget anti-Clinton. He was not impressed by the sight of so many Republicans foaming at the mouth during the impeachment proceedings and Lewinsky scandal. "That was another thing I will never forgive the Republican party for," he sputters. "We spent one year wasting time because there was a human failure. I was ashamed to call myself a Republican during that period. Instead of devoting all this energy and all these hearings to how we're going to solve the problems of the inner cities.... No, it's like, 'This man has to be removed from office because he's a national threat.' Yeah, that's a good one."

Arnold refusing to pile on Bill Clinton. Arnold bashing Pat Buchanan. Arnold saying good things about decaying neighborhoods and minority kids, talkin' equal opportunity and tolerance. To Keith Rhodes, a New Yorker raised by a single mother and who believes Mike Tyson has a heart of gold, Arnold sounds like Conan the Humanitarian. He told him that when the two sat down for a drink last September.

"Arnold, you so-called Republican," Rhodes says. "You look and smell and taste and feel so much like a Democrat."

Arnold puffed on his cigar, blew some smoke in Rhodes's face, and gave him that Terminator stare that says, "Don't poosh it."

The pilot tells us to prepare for touchdown in San Antonio. Thousands of feet below, pulses are quickening at Edgar Allen Poe Middle School. Banners are being hung. Badminton players and pint-size gymnasts are loosening up to strut their stuff. Arnold is coming.

He checks his notes and asks if the mayor will be meeting their plane. "No," Reiss says. "He's gonna be at the school."

There will be many more mayors and many more schools and many more kids. Arnold is a driven machine. He brings Big Dreams. Someday soon, he vows, every city in the country "that suffers problems because of crime, teenage pregnancy, drug sales, gangs, and all those things" will be part of the Inner-City Games family.

"That's a lot of cities," someone observes.

The former Mr. Universe strikes a muscleman pose and triumphantly checks himself out. "Dat's a lot of brain," he says. "And a lot of body!" ☐

HILLARY'S POWERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 116 workers, and through her work for Mondale, the young Hillary was soon researching migrant problems in housing, sanitation, health, and education.

Returning to Yale for her second year, Hillary volunteered at the university's Child Study Center, where she befriended Sally Provence, who was pioneering research on brain development in early childhood. She also volunteered at New Haven Hospital, where she worked on cases of child abuse, and at the city's Legal Services, providing free legal aid to the poor. At Yale, Hillary put in a postgraduate year focusing on law and medicine at the Child Study Center. One of her professors in family law was Joseph Goldstein, who was in the process of co-editing a book titled *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child*. Hillary was soon reviewing for Goldstein the history of children's legal rights. Her chapter for the book would be among the first writings to chronicle the judicial system's failure to address child abuse. It also laid down a new paradigm of adoption law: that a child's happiness mattered more than considerations such as wealth, birth family, race, or his or her potential adoptive parents. One of Hillary's first legal-aid cases involved a black foster-care child who was up for adoption. Hillary successfully argued that an older, low-income white woman who had been the foster parent for the child for two years should be able to adopt the girl. The woman and child had clearly become a family, Hillary said. Rather than be shuttled off to another foster home to wait for wealthier adoptive parents of similar racial makeup, the girl should stay in that home.

HILLARY'S POWERS

I asked Hillary what she considers to be her greatest achievements during her years at the White House. Without hesitation, she cited her role in initiating and shepherding the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997 through Congress. Helping to pass that bill has given her, she says, "as much satisfaction as anything that I've done."

The genesis of the bill can be traced to the aftermath of the 1994 midterm elections. Soon after he became Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich declared that orphanages—like so many institutions of the Victorian era—weren't as grisly as novelists and liberals had made them out to be. Sensing an opportunity to

private discussions with the Children's Bureau, part of the Department of Health and Human Services Administration, about the federal government's role in child welfare. Just before the 1996 Democratic convention in Chicago, Hillary convened a meeting with about 20 foundation leaders to review the ideas that the policy experts had presented to her. It was, someone who was present says, the "bigger picture" she was interested in, and the opinions she heard in Chicago became "critical" to Hillary's thinking. The upshot of the meeting, according to one staffer, was what the government could do. Later that month, with Hillary's sup-

and Health and Human Services began hashing out recommendations and the specific legislative language to be used. The first lady and her longtime friend, Donna Shalala, the secretary of Health and Human Services, worked together closely, talking through some of the tougher issues. In early February 1997, Hillary combed through the emerging report, considering and reconsidering every detail. Among the most wrenching decisions was the issue of terminating parental rights. Hillary wanted to ensure support for families when appropriate. But as she had long advocated, she also wanted to guarantee that the health and safety of the child remained the paramount concerns during placement proceedings.

Mindful that health reform had been portrayed as byzantine and bureaucratic, Hillary also wanted to make certain that the effort would be simply and cogently understood. At her direction, an aide worked through the night on a terse executive summary of the report.

The formal presentation of the report, "Adoption 2002," released on Valentine's Day 1997, was staged around an Oval Office event. The Kansas girl whom Hillary had invited to speak at the White House in November 1995—who had been adopted in the interim—introduced the president. Her transformation was stunning. "She stood up straight. She was poised. She smiled. She talked. She looked you in the eye. She clearly had found so much confidence that stemmed from her new home," an observer says.

That summer, the White House found co-sponsorship interest on the Hill from Representatives David Camp, a Republican from Michigan, and Barbara Kennelly, a Democrat from Connecticut. They introduced a bill consistent with Hillary's recommendations, including one idea that had been lifted directly from the draft of her report. The government would give a per-child financial bonus to those states that increased adoption rates from the previous year. That summer, the legislation sailed through the House and was sent to the Senate. In the fall, Hillary continued to make speeches and appearances. By November, however, the Senate clock was ticking. The president's trade-negotiating authority had become the priority of the White House. There was a risk that Hillary's bill would die until the next session of Congress.

So Hillary herself began working the phones, calling friends on the Hill to get progress reports and rally sup-

"Every time Hillary goes on a trip," Vice President Al Gore says, "that's all we hear about from the president."

damage Gingrich politically, Hillary seized on the remark. In an article she wrote in *Newsweek* in January 1995, she declared that Gingrich's comment was absurd. Orphanages had become extinct, she said, because they were terrible places for children. Searching for ways to make herself relevant again, Hillary asked her staff to review government policy toward adoption. In the summer of 1995, she convened a White House meeting of policy experts to discuss the most pressing issues, such as long-term foster care and institutional barriers within the child welfare system, including cross-racial adoptions.

During National Adoption Month in November 1995, Hillary hosted the first in a series of events on the issue at the White House. With her on the dais that day was Dave Thomas, founder of the Wendy's fast-food chain and an ardent supporter of adoption: Thomas himself had been adopted. Also at the gathering were dozens of children waiting to be placed with foster families. One Kansas teenager—overweight, withdrawn, with chunky eyeglasses—read a poem about longing for a family and a room of her own. "Everyone was in tears," an observer recalls. Then Hillary spoke, challenging both the public and private sectors to do more to expedite adoptions.

As the public events continued throughout 1995 and '96, Hillary and her staff also plunged into a series of

port, Bill Clinton signed legislation that strengthened the 1993 Multi-Ethnic Placement Act and provided new tax credits for those who adopt.

Hillary then directed her staff to begin drafting more specific recommendations. Weeks before the 1996 election, some insiders thought that adoption was such a political winner that it could become part of Bill Clinton's reelection platform. But Hillary, wary that her husband's political enemies might use the issue as a way of attacking her influence in the White House, fought to keep it out of the platform. "So we waited," an aide says. After the elections, Hillary staged a forum on adoption that was broadcast from the Oval Office on November 14. Some children waiting to be adopted were invited. Hillary announced that the president was about to sign an executive memorandum, directing Health and Human Services to develop a plan within 90 days to double the number of adoptions by 2002 and to allow more children to be adopted more expeditiously.

Hard questions and policy negotiating followed. What was the five-year plan for doubling the adoption numbers from child welfare? How could new per-child incentives be created for states? The "reasonable effort" requirement to attempt to reunify a birth family before terminating parental rights differed from state to state—how could it be standardized? The White House

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port. Some of her aides assured her that the legislation would pass, but an hour later a senator told her it was dead. "It was a roller-coaster," says a member of the first lady's staff.

Hillary and Verveer were in constant conversation with Erskine Bowles, then the White House chief of staff, who was negotiating with Senate majority leader Trent Lott down to the wire. The senator refused to comment on Hillary's efforts to help the bill through, but an aide recalls that Bowles made it clear to Lott that the president was intent on seeing his wife's proposals become law.

Bill Clinton's push for Hillary's legislation—reminiscent of LBJ's support of Lady Bird's national highway-beautification bill—is the exception to the general truth that Hillary has no particular spousal pull to elevate her issues above any other adviser's agenda. "You're never going to say that she doesn't get some special dispensation," says an aide who works for both of them. "Or that she shouldn't."

When it came time to call Senator Carl Levin, Hillary was particularly careful. The Michigan Democrat supported a national voluntary registry for people who wanted to locate birth children or birth parents, and had attached the measure to the adoption bill. The influential and conservative National Council on Adoption opposed Levin's amendment, and that meant trouble: For the adoption bill to pass, the support of all Democrats and a handful of sympathetic Republican senators was essential. The National Council's concern could turn some votes against the bill. White House aides talked to Levin aides, who informed the White House that the senator wouldn't budge. So Hillary called Levin and invited him to the White House. According to Levin, "I spent about 45 minutes with the first lady. She very strongly and very powerfully argued her case." Hillary promised Levin that after the bill was passed, she would support his registry plan and see if it could be created through Health and Human Services. After their conversation, the senator agreed to remove his measure. (To date, Levin's proposal has yet to be adopted.)

On November 13, Congress passed the bill. Four days later, in a huge White House ceremony, the president signed it.

More than a year later, Hillary unveiled part of the president's 2000 budget—\$300 million to support unadopted, aging children with housing, daily chores, and health coverage. Since then,

a new bill sponsored by Nancy Johnson and Benjamin Cardin has passed the House in a near unanimous vote; the Foster Care Independence bill, which will help older unadopted children make the transition to adulthood, was introduced by senators John Chafee of Rhode Island and Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia, and awaits debate in the Senate. "It's a powerful subject if you're into it," Rockefeller says. "But it's one in which you need someone to take you into it. Hillary does that. When it comes to children and family issues, I don't think there's a more informed, passionate person in the country.... We just had a meeting with some of these older children. They don't know how to run a washing machine, how to pay bills, how to find an apartment to live in, or pay rent—or how they can afford to pay rent." Hillary, one staffer says, is determined to "make this proposal a reality."

If Hillary's adoption legislation is not well known, her role in it is even less known. That suits her fine. "It is always the prerogative of the press to follow what they think is newsworthy," Hillary says when asked about her low profile on the issue. "Adoption has never commanded the kind of attention that something like health care has, because it only affects a small number of Americans. We have half a million children in foster care, but it's not an issue that's going to have much newsworthiness."

Hillary's defeat on health care hasn't changed her mind about the need for its reform. But it did teach her that trying to reform one of the country's largest economies all at once wasn't going to happen. "Our country is just not yet resolved on how it's going to deal with the health care needs of the population," she says. "The only way to make progress in this kind of environment" is incrementally. One colleague observes, "Even though health care was portrayed as this crushing blow, I don't think she ever stopped. It was immediately, 'Well, what about doing it this way?'"

At the very least, Hillary was determined to get coverage for low-income children. It was an area she knew; she could regain her confidence there. And politically, children's issues were a gold mine. "She was quite pragmatic," an aide says. "She understood that this was something we actually might be able to get done because people care about children." Hillary considered advocating an extension of Medicaid but realized that

some Republicans would detest the idea—more money, more big government, more Hillary as a tax-and-spend liberal, they would say. She had to find a way to achieve the same goal that would be politically palatable to Republicans.

"We needed to create this hybrid," she says, "where some states would do this through Medicaid and some would use their own funds. You've got to give them choice."

So Hillary began an all-out push within the administration, and in her speeches and writings, for what is now known as the Children's Health Insurance Program. The program allows the federal government to provide health insurance for low-income children through state grants, a popular idea with Republicans. Hillary pushed to make it an administration priority and, through the legislative process, continued to fine-tune it. "Nobody intuitively knows the importance of coalition better than Mrs. Clinton," says Rockefeller, who has worked with Hillary on CHIP. "She will treat [conservative senator] Phil Gramm with courtesy and respect. She might not walk arm-in-arm with Jesse Helms as Madeleine Albright did, but she will put out a similar sort of courtesy. She will reason with people." Administered through Health and Human Services, CHIP passed on August 5, 1997.

When an issue moves her, the first lady has no compunction about calling members of Congress to lobby, though she's careful about whom she calls and what she says. Verveer admits, "These are not things you will read about in any newspaper. She does not want to make waves, because she does not want to jeopardize the outcome."

Following President Clinton's 1998 State of the Union address on the creation of a historic preservation project called Save America's Treasures, Hillary felt that private funds could be leveraged more easily if Congress shook loose some money first. "Republicans who were in a pivotal position to help with this weren't necessarily there from the beginning," Verveer recalls. "The first lady made some calls: 'I really think this would make a huge difference,' she said. 'It has no ideological component to it. It's not special for Democrats or Republicans. It's something that every American would applaud.'" Ralph Regula, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the Interior, was persuaded by Hillary's arguments. "She

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was pragmatic about the federal funds, very much in agreement with me that matching private and state funding would indicate support in the community," he says. Congress allotted \$30 million of federal money, and Hillary went on the road to raise the private donations—an additional \$30 million.

Much of what Hillary Clinton has proposed in the last five years does not involve federal policy but rather the creation of public-private partnerships. Through her role as honorary chair of the president's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, she makes the case that the arts are an especially useful tool in providing at-risk children with a creative venue for emotional development. She helped find corporate sponsors, such as VH1, Binney & Smith (manufacturers of Crayola Crayons), and the General Electric Fund, for the Arts Education Partnership, a program to install music and painting classes in inner-city public schools. She has helped create such partnerships by exploiting the physical power of the White House, inviting representatives of charities and corporations to ceremonies and meetings—invitations that are almost never turned down. "Often it is not what we can do directly so much as the work we can put into motion that will affect people's lives," she says.

During her White House years, Hillary has not hesitated to call on the cabinet. She has worked on issues with Richard Riley at the Department of Education, Bruce Babbitt at the Department of Interior, and Andrew Cuomo at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In October 1997, she persuaded Robert Rubin, secretary of the treasury, to convene a meeting of corporate CEOs. She wanted their advice on how American companies could be persuaded to adopt better child care measures for working parents. There are other, less obvious choices. "On child safety and domestic violence issues, Attorney General Janet Reno is a kindred spirit," Verveer says. The first lady helped establish the Department of Justice's Violence Against Women office, a way of addressing a social problem without resorting to Congress: Since many Republicans resist the idea of specific efforts targeted at hate crimes, Hillary knew that she could accomplish more by working with Reno.

Hillary's closest cabinet ally is Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Their relationship is "a partnership, a tag

team," Albright says. "We lay out the policy, and she is probably the best unofficial ambassador we have. When she comes back from a trip overseas, she always writes a report, and we'll discuss it and distribute it in the State Department." Since 1993, Hillary has made 51 trips to foreign countries, usually on her own. She is the most widely traveled first lady in history.

Together, Hillary and Albright have made women's rights a tenet of U.S. foreign policy. But Hillary presents the issue using more conservative language than the Hillary of Yale Law School would have. "If women aren't achieving their role in society, if they can't participate in the economy, if they can't have their basic needs met or be educated, then there's little chance that those countries are going to prosper," she says. "So it is in our interest to pay attention to women's issues if we want to see democracy flowering." This is not women's lib for the rest of the world; it's human rights as a path to capitalism and democracy. Again, the goals are consistent with what Hillary has long sought, but they're presented in a way that an opposition party might accept.

One of the specific programs she has helped shape is Vital Voices, a U.S.-sponsored initiative to promote the participation of women in politics around the world. It's more than a high-minded coffee klatch, as some have dismissed it. When the first lady held a Vital Voices conference in Northern Ireland in 1998, it was her status, Albright says, that drew 400 female leaders from all over Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom, Unionists and Nationalists alike. "Out of that," Albright says, "came a bunch of new projects, training, and exchanges that are visible evidence of our support for the Good Friday peace agreement." It's grassroots activism—from the top down.

Before departing on an overseas journey, Albright often briefs the first lady. They keep in frequent contact, mostly by phone, Albright says. When Albright and Hillary travel together, they'll hold joint meetings with women's groups. If Albright meets with a foreign minister, Hillary will have a follow-up conversation with staffers from nongovernmental organizations. Albright explains, "When she meets with them, she gives them credibility and legitimacy, and they can go out and really push for an agenda for getting more women into the various political levels within a country."

In the spring of 1998, amid rising tensions in Kosovo, Hillary made a trip to Bulgaria. She arrived at six in the morning and went straight from the airport to give a televised speech. Later in the day, she met with President Petar Stoyanov, then with Prime Minister Ivan Kostov. She also met with an unprecedented gathering of first ladies from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Romania, Slovenia, and Turkey.

During her solo trip to South Africa in March 1997, Hillary met with a group of women who had sought a loan from U.S. Agency for International Development to build houses and had completed three of them. She has been an ardent supporter of loans provided by USAID. A year later, during their joint trip to Africa, Hillary insisted that President Clinton visit the town. She was delighted to see that more than 100 homes had been built by the women.

Later, at a Washington lunch for Ghana's president, Jerry Rawlings, President Clinton turned to USAID administrator J. Brian Atwood and said, "I just talked to Hillary. And every time she calls, she wants to see your budget increase." Al Gore chimed in, "Yeah, every time Hillary goes on a trip, you know, that's all we hear about from the president."

Jim Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank, believes that women in developing nations have an "intuitive respect" for Hillary. "When she travels, there tends to be so much hoopla that it is difficult to establish the human contact. But somehow she manages to do that. It's gone beyond the photo opportunity to substantive discussions." That is the same technique Hillary has shown in New York in recent months on her listening tour: traveling, meeting with groups of people, trying to draw out their concerns. The New York media have been skeptical of Hillary's listening campaign, but that may be a mistake: She has been perfecting this strategy for years on overseas trips, and she has used it to master complicated policy issues that put most reporters to sleep. If she can do it in Macedonia, her thinking seems to be, she can do it in New York.

The first lady's months on the campaign trail in New York might just be a leave of absence from the world scene. As Wolfensohn adds, "She tells me that one of the reasons she wants to run for the Senate is so that she can deal directly with America's concerns abroad."

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New York is no longer the most populous state in the Union nor the wealthiest nor the most cosmopolitan. Those states are, respectively, California, Connecticut, and California again. Yet New York remains the most powerful symbol of American life around the world, and with Hillary eager to play a role beyond the shores of the United States, no Senate seat in the country matches her political ambitions quite as well as the one that will be vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year.

Several factors prompted the first lady to run. "For the last couple of years, I had intended to live in New York after the White House," she says. "My mind had already moved to that—long before anyone talked to me about running for office. I just imagined I would be living there and working there. It seemed serendipitous that what I intended to do—live in New York—coincided with what people were urging me to do."

Hillary has also come to realize the

me out of the blue. It's not anything I planned. It's not anything I thought actively about." It is, instead, a continuation of the work that she has been doing since 1994—indeed, since her childhood in Chicago. In that context, a Senate run for Hillary doesn't seem surprising; it seems almost inevitable.

Hillary flatly disavows the charge that she can't be a candidate and a first lady at the same time: "Most people who run for political office have another job. A member of the House who runs for the Senate has to continue to be a member of the House. A governor who runs for president has to continue to be a governor. I see it in a similar light."

In fact, Hillary says, her new role as candidate is a boost to her work as first lady, not a hindrance. "Whether it's campaigning on behalf of someone else or whether I go forward on my own, I will always be furthering the work that I have done in the White House."

Some pundits have suggested that

edge that even some of the more obscure and seemingly docile first ladies affected policy. Although she has been most commonly compared to Eleanor Roosevelt, who was similarly ambitious and controversial, Hillary has also focused on another legend: Dolley Madison.

"There is a special feeling I have about Dolley," Hillary says of the woman whose reputation is fixed as the ice cream-doling party girl but who was, in reality, adept at subtle lobbying for the Madison administration. "Her strength, her character, her skill, her sheer energy really set her apart. She was not only a wonderful hostess but also a skilled diplomat who could bring people together and help them work on behalf of common causes." At a White House costume party several years ago, Hillary dressed herself up as Dolley. It cannot be coincidental that in 1844 the former first lady was awarded an unprecedented honorary congressional seat.

Ironically, the woman who had to adjust from her very public responsibility for health care reform to working more discreetly on policy must now revert to taking credit for what she's done. It isn't easy. Between trips to New York for her listening tour, Hillary told me of her reluctance to use the word *I* in reference to achievements she's been behind. She is used to speaking out on issues, she says, but "really doing it for myself has taken some getting used to." She admits that this self-consciousness may be "a sense that it's not appropriate to be the person in the spotlight saying, 'Hey, look over here,' as opposed to just looking at the results. I like being part of a team. I like having everyone feel that they have a stake in what we're doing. Maybe that's more of a personal attitude, or maybe it has something to do with gender. I'm not sure."

It's not over yet. In the next 12 months, the first lady-cum-candidate has an ambitious agenda. She reels off "sensible gun control...doing what needs to be done on Social Security and Medicare...laying the groundwork for diminishing and then eliminating the national debt...the pension proposal...raise the minimum wage again."

The last time I spoke with her, the first lady seemed increasingly more comfortable mentioning her own work than she had in previous conversations. On issues close to her, such as adoption, child welfare, and the welfare-to-work transition, she will "continue to push." But there are new is-

Hillary flatly disavows the charge that she can't be a candidate and the first lady. "Most people who run for political office have another job," she says.

role of the Senate in many of the issues that she has already begun work on. "I have seen in the last few years the importance of what goes on in the Senate," she explains. "Time and again, important decisions about our future were made by one vote or a handful of votes in the Senate." She names Vice President Gore's tie-breaking vote for the administration's deficit-reduction plan in 1993 and the slim margin on the 1994 crime bill as examples of the chamber's role.

"These decisions have a direct impact on how people live in New York," Hillary says. "So I decided I should be part of that debate. If I'm fortunate enough to persuade the people of New York that I could be their representative, I want to be in the thick of it."

Hillary is clearly excited by the prospect of getting back to work after having been a volunteer, and she denies the suggestion that it's time for her career, rather than her husband's, to be primary. "I just don't feel that way," she insists. "[Running for Senate] came to

Hillary isn't prepared for the rough-and-tumble of a campaign in which she, rather than her husband, is the candidate, but she sounds almost eager to leap into the fray. Whether it's New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani fundraising in Arkansas, historian Doris Kearns Goodwin questioning Hillary's loyalty to the Yankees, or comedian Jackie Mason accusing her of exploiting her step-grandfather to get the Jewish vote, she is unflustered. "Most voters in New York are more interested in what their senator can do for them, not in the political back-and-forth that plays out in so much of the political commentary these days," she says. "That is just a diversion to drown out what I would do for the economy or what I would do for education or how I would try to continue to help people with health care."

More than any first lady since Lady Bird Johnson, Hillary Clinton has steeped herself in the history of her predecessors. She takes comfort in the knowl-

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sues as well. "I've seen how important farming is in my travels around New York, because upstate New York has been lagging behind the rest of the state in job creation and income growth," she says. After all the years of listening, Hillary is finally finding her own voice. 

HOW BOBBY DID IT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 113 him the election.

At the beginning of the campaign, he was the fifth Beatle; the size and enthusiasm of the crowds made up for his own lackluster style on the hustings. Bobby hardly ever even mentioned his opponent, the Republican incumbent Kenneth Keating, a grandfatherly figure from Buffalo, and he was reluctant to comment on Keating's record. Kennedy's campaign, R.W. Apple observed in the *Times*, resembled a "personal-appearance tour by a movie star," and relied on glamour and nostalgia to insulate the candidate from the uglier realities of a Senate race. True, a certain section of the liberal intelligentsia was from the first suspicious about Bobby's past, about his uneasy relationship with postwar liberalism, about the brutal, bullying way he'd pushed around liberal idols like Herbert Lehman, the former New York governor and senator, and Eleanor Roosevelt's good-government protégés. But the grumbings of Gore Vidal had little effect on Bobby's strong showings in the early polls. Vidal and his allies might revive old stories about Bobby's apprenticeship under Joe McCarthy, but in the war of liberal wits, such Kennedy supporters as Arthur Schlesinger, John Kenneth Galbraith, and George Plimpton were more than equal to the task of parrying their opponents' blows—sometimes literally. Plimpton pushed playwright Arthur Kopit over a sofa in the Manhattan apartment of Kennedy aide William vanden Heuvel when Kopit pronounced himself unable to vote for Bobby.

If Vidal and his compatriots failed to undermine Bobby's commanding lead in the polls, they nevertheless succeeded in painting a damaging picture of the candidate as a ruthless opportunist, a "little Torquemada," in Vidal's words, a creature of McCarthy. The picture was just plausible enough to limit Bobby's ability to maneuver in important ways. Although Bobby had been forced to turn to New York's Democratic party bosses for support early in the campaign, he was determined to do nothing else

that could justify the reproaches of his liberal critics. This left him in a quandary when, in October, the novelty of his glamour began to wear off and the polls suggested that his popularity was slipping. Afraid to do anything that might lend credibility to the idea that he was a cruel and unfeeling adventurer, Bobby at first refused to strike out at his Republican opponent. Keating, a white-haired teddy bear of a man, was gaining strength, but Kennedy believed that if he took the offensive against his courtly adversary, it would confirm all the old perceptions that Vidal & Co. had worked to keep alive.

Keating himself came conveniently to the rescue. In September, in a bid for the Jewish vote, Keating made the outlandish charge that as attorney general Bobby had been sympathetic to the plight of former Nazis. The ploy backfired. In Arthur Schlesinger's view, Keating's miscalculation marked a turning point in the campaign. The charge gave Bobby the excuse he needed to attack Keating without looking like a bully himself—and it revived, too, Bobby's own fighting spirit, which had been overwhelmed by his continuing melancholy, by the as yet uncompleted processes of mourning. On October 12, Columbus Day, Bobby, speaking in Buffalo, responded to Keating's charge with the kind of righteous indignation that elicits voters' sympathy. Keating's decision to go negative, together with a successful advertising blitz and the help of LBJ's coattails, enabled Kennedy to beat Keating by more than 700,000 votes on Election Day. "If he hadn't attacked me," Kennedy later said of his opponent, "I would have had a hell of a time."

The realities of a modern Senate campaign have forced Hillary to show her hand earlier than Bobby did. With the 2000 elections still a year away, Hillary will have to spend more time in the earthy morass of local politics than Bobby did, and she will find it even harder to maintain the pristine glow of her celebrity as she wades through those unpromising bogs. She must worry that she will find herself, next October, in precisely the same position in which Bobby found himself 35 Octobers ago—that of a candidate who possesses all the liabilities of a public reputation and none of the compensating assets of a celebrity. The burden of Hillary's public reputation is, of course, very different from Bobby's, but a questionable commodities trade, the convoluted finances of Whitewater, and an ill-conceived attempt to reform the health care system could nevertheless prove damaging in the unpredictable ways that past mistakes often do. If

Bobby's 1964 race demonstrates anything, it's that it is easy for even a shrewd politician to wind up at the mercy of his public reputation.

The specific lessons of Bobby's race may mean less to Hillary than the things Bobby was able to do with the office after he won it. Some people have speculated that Hillary wouldn't really like being a senator, wouldn't really like being just another lawmaker in a crowded chamber. But if she succeeds in following Bobby's example, Hillary will be something more than an ordinary senator. She will easily be the most famous person on Capitol Hill, and she will be treated accordingly. When, three decades ago, a senator complained that one of the committee chairmen was giving Bobby preferential treatment, the chairman denied it. "I treat him the same way I'd treat any future president," the chairman said. Like Bobby, Hillary too will command a certain deference in the Senate, and she will find it easier than her colleagues to draw attention to the causes she chooses to champion. She will attract the brightest staffers, just as Bobby did; when she travels abroad, she will take with her, as he did, a media entourage that a sitting president might envy. True, it will be difficult for her to hold the kind of court that Bobby held at Hickory Hill, a shadow government that at times rivaled the White House in influence and often outshone it in glamour. Hillary lacks the capital to do that, but she could very well end up being the most visible senator since R.F.K.

Hillary undoubtedly sees herself as the natural heir to Bobby's supercharged senatorial career, and a number of old Kennedy hands have come forward to validate her claim. In September, William vanden Heuvel hosted a fundraiser for Hillary in his New York home. It was just like the good old days, only this time there were no reports of wavering playwrights being pushed over sofas. Still, Hillary will not be able to claim Bobby's senatorial mantle without a fight; her most likely opponent, Rudy Giuliani, has an equally plausible claim on R.F.K.'s legacy. The mayor, after all, turned New York City around with precisely the kind of tough, innovative politics that Bobby himself most admired. But if in the end she succeeds in capturing Bobby's legacy and his seat, Hillary, too, will have done something that Bobby could wholeheartedly approve: She will have proved herself to be, like him, as tough as they come. 

Michael Knox Beran is the author of The Last Patrician: Bobby Kennedy and the End of American Aristocracy.

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Hillary's Senate run gets a holiday boost

Big donors attend Washington gala

By Barbara J. Saffir
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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Staying in Washington for the holidays did not keep first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton from her New York Senate race.

During a star-studded White House dinner on New Year's Eve, Mrs. Clinton invited two of her key supporters to share her head table: Dennis Rivera, chapter president of a union with 300,000 members in New York, and Bernard Schwartz, a wealthy Democratic donor who heads the New York-based Loral Space and Communications Ltd.

Newly released campaign finance reports show that Mr. Schwartz and his wife, Irene, donated \$40,000 to a special fund-raising account created to help Mrs. Clinton beat New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Although Mrs. Clinton will not file her first report with the Federal Election Commission until Jan. 31, records recently filed by her donors indicate that Mr.

Rivera's Service Employees International Union contributed \$10,000 to her campaign.

The FEC reports and other new information also show:

- At least seven of her donors attended the White House New Year's party.

- Many more contributors may have attended that and 10 other holiday parties, but Mrs. Clinton's office only identified 288 of the "thousands and thousands" of the guests at one event.

- One of Mrs. Clinton's joint fund-raising committees raised nearly \$1.2 million as of Nov. 30.

- A contributor to that committee works for Refco, the trading firm involved in Mrs. Clinton's controversial 1978 cattle futures deal that turned her \$1,000 investment into \$100,000 in 10 months.

- Many donors won't be identified until committees file their bi-annual 1999 FEC reports on Jan. 31 and their 2000 reports in August.

see DONORS, page A4

■ Other notable guests included the Clintons' longtime friend and fund-raiser, Terry McAuliffe, and Walter Kaye, the Democratic donor whose clout helped get Monica Lewinsky her internship.

Several other guests were recently named the Democratic Party's 50 wealthiest donors. They made tax-deductible contributions to a foundation for "America's Millennium," the White House-sponsored public extravaganza on the Mall that was held in conjunction with the private party.

"Big gifts like that are rarely given with only one thought in mind," said Larry Makinson of the campaign finance watchdog group the Center for Responsive Politics. "If you give to a foundation that's also connected with a politician, there's an extra bonus there because the politician will be grateful to you for doing it. And that can come in very handy years later if there's a particular issue where that politician could be helpful to you."

While the intertwined web of donations may not be uncommon in presidential politics, he said it could cause political fallout for Mrs. Clinton if it reminds "people about the systematic way in which President Clinton used the White House to raise funds for his presidential campaign."

The first-time candidate is using the same fund-raiser for her Senate race, Mr. McAuliffe, who helped her husband craft the much-criticized practice of inviting big donors to sleep in the Lincoln Bedroom.

Niranjan Shah, one of Mrs. Clinton's donors and a former guest at a White House coffees, once told the Voice of America that the Indian community he represents tries "to influence the U.S. foreign policy." He said its lobbying helped defeat a bill that would have cut off aid to India — the same type of legislation Mrs. Clinton would vote on as a senator.

The Chicago-based company Mr. Shah heads, Globetrotters International Inc., donated \$3,000 to "New York Senate 2000," a joint fund-raising committee of Mrs. Clinton's campaign and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. Another one of his companies, Globetrotters Engineering Corp., made a generous tax-deductible donation to "America's Millennium."

Mr. Shah did not return calls but a fund-raiser for the festivities said the contribution may have been in the \$100,000 to \$250,000 range. Mrs. Clinton's office, the National

1/2

Fed chief can't rain on Dow's parade

Index hits new high despite warning

By Patrice Hill
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

The stock market soared to a new high yesterday, as investors ignored a caution from Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan that stocks must come down and interest rates must go up to slow the speeding economy.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average jumped 141 points to a record 11,723, while the Standard & Poor's 500 index ended just four points shy of a record and the Nasdaq Composite Index surged by 107 points, nearly erasing a 10 percent drop the technology-heavy index suffered just last week.

Stock investors took comfort from a report that showed inflation stayed low last year and concluded that Mr. Greenspan, despite a warning Thursday night that the soaring stock market has put consumer spending into overdrive, will not raise rates sharply in the coming months to quell the raging bull on Wall Street, analysts said.

"Greenspan has demonstrated that he understands the world has changed and that he doesn't intend to do anything scary to the market," said Charles Pradilla, chief investment strategist at SG Cowen Securities. "We are comfortable with Greenspan's comments."

But some analysts contended the markets misinterpreted the chairman's speech to the Economic Club of New York, which was his most explicit to date in implicating the stock market as the culprit that is causing undesirable "imbalances" in the economy that the Fed seeks to correct with rate increases.

"He made what I thought was a fairly strong statement, which should have been interpreted as a real warning to the marketplace that it's not business as usual," said Sung Won Sohn, a respected Fed-watcher and chief economist of Wells Fargo & Co. in Minneapolis.

"The market psychology after years of double-digit gains is extremely bullish. They tend to read and interpret everything through their biased, rose-colored glasses," Mr. Sohn said, noting that some prominent news accounts ratified the market's interpretation that the Fed is not planning to aggressively raise rates this year.

But Mr. Sohn said the central bank is likely to raise rates much more sharply this spring than

many investors expect, although he agreed with the prevailing view that the Fed will raise rates only by a quarter point at a meeting of its rate-setting committee on Feb. 2.

"One of the key imbalances in the economy is the stock market boom, which has been leading to a pileup of consumer debt and ballooning current account deficits. That's what Greenspan implied," said Mr. Sohn. "These things cannot continue. The imbalances have to be corrected, presumably through aggressive rate hikes."

One trend powering the stock market's rise has been phenomenal growth in technology industries. A report from the Fed yesterday said that production of computers surged an astounding 50 percent last year, while overall production rose by a much more modest 3.6 percent.

The market also took heart from a Labor Department report yesterday that showed that consumer price inflation remained tame at the end of last year, despite a 13.4 percent leap in the cost of energy that drove the yearly inflation rate to 2.7 percent.

Inflation bottomed out at 1.6 percent in 1998, but the so-called core rate of inflation, which excludes wide swings in food and energy prices, hit a 34-year low last year of 1.9 percent.

Mr. Greenspan noted a connection between the two trends in his speech, attributing the unusually low inflation to technological innovations, particularly computerization, that have enabled businesses

to keep their costs and prices down despite robust growth and a scarcity of workers.

But he said the Fed is worried about inflation picking up in the future, because consumer demand is outstripping the ability of even the most efficient U.S. businesses to produce.

To satisfy America's raging spending needs, the country has been soaking up imports and driving up the trade deficit to record levels that cannot be sustained, Mr. Greenspan said.

Despite these concerns, Mr. Sohn said the Fed chairman — who is due to be confirmed to a fourth term by the Senate in coming weeks — may be feeling some pressure from Capitol Hill to refrain from vigorous rate increases, and the stock market may be counting on Mr. Greenspan heeding that pressure.

James Saxton, vice chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, contended yesterday that sharp rate hikes are "unnecessary" in light of this week's reassuring news on inflation. "Forward-

looking price signals do not show clear evidence of inflation in the pipeline," he said.

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Wednesday January 26 8:18 PM ET

Hillary, Guiliani Both Strong Candidates-Clinton

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - President Clinton on Wednesday predicted his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, would win the race for the New York Senate seat, but said she and New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani were both formidable contenders.

"I think they're both very strong, formidable people, and strong, formidable candidates," Clinton told public television's "NewsHour with Jim Lehrer." "They have impressive achievements in their lives that relate to public service."

But Clinton said the first lady, who is expected to formally announce her candidacy for the Senate next month, was "much better suited for the work of a senator and this whole legislative process."

"I think that the passions of her life -- 30 years of work and achievement in education and health care and the challenges that children and families face -- and the whole philosophy she has about community are more consistent with where New York is today and what they need in the future," he said.

"And so that's why I think she'll win. Not because I think he's the bad guy or something ... but I think that New York will believe, in the end, that what she represents ... is a little closer to where they are than his whole approach."

The president, who leaves office in January 2001, said he was still trying to determine exactly how he would be able to support his wife's public service, if she won the election.

"Of course, I'll have to make a living, and I hope I'll have to make a living to support a wife who's continuing our family's tradition of public service," he said.

The Clintons have bought a house in the New York City suburb of Chappaqua to establish state residency so Mrs. Clinton can officially run for the Senate seat being vacated by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Polls conducted earlier this month showed Giuliani leading Clinton by 49 percent to 40 percent.

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The First Lady of Platitudes

At a speech before the State Council of Superintendents the other day, Hillary Rodham Clinton declared, "When it comes to education ... we have real problems that demand action, not rhetoric or political posturing." She would do well to follow her own advice.

The more Clinton tries to highlight education, the brighter the spotlight shines on how little she knows about New York's failing schools and how to fix them. She doesn't have a clue.

"Will you spend your time firing people or fixing our schools? Will you work to sell off the school board building or invest in our children?" Clinton asked rhetorically Tuesday. There is little doubt that "you" refers to Mayor Giuliani, Clinton's presumed Republican challenger for the seat now held by the departing Sen. Pat Moynihan.

Funny, Clinton's oft-repeated feel-good phrases, like "fixing our schools" and "invest in our children," are just the kind of empty drivel Moynihan had in mind in 1993 when he coined "boob bait for the bubbas" to describe her husband's meaningless promises to reform welfare.

Hillary Clinton has served up cliches on everything from school vouchers to mayoral control of the Board of Education. But exactly what she'd do to fix the state's failing schools is harder to nail down than Jell-O.

Giuliani prefers ideas to bromides. He has long supported vouchers, for example, seeing them as giving parents and their children an alternative to the lethargic bureaucracy at 110 Livingston St. Like charter schools, they promise to improve public schools through competition. Clinton's only take on this important issue is that "there is no evidence that [vouchers] work." That's not a position, it's a reflex.

Since the ouster of Rudy Crew as schools chancellor, mayoral control has been at the center of schools debate. Like Mayors Ed Koch and David Dinkins before him — and like the current mayors of the state's Big Five cities — Giuliani has urged the state Legislature to abolish the Board of Ed. Letting the mayor appoint a commissioner in its place would ensure that someone would be accountable to the voters — which is only right, since city taxpayers fund 42% of the \$11 billion school budget.

Clinton's Position? "In general," she said this month, "I believe in having the political leadership responsible for the biggest enterprise in the city." But, pointing out that it works well in Chicago, Clinton noted, "Nobody doubted that the mayor of Chicago really cared about the children of Chicago." Just more boob bait. Clinton soon will learn that there are fewer bubbas in New York than where she comes from.

Her courtship of the United Federation of Teachers becomes more obvious with every utterance. Remember, she announced her intention to run at the union's headquarters in November. She, like fellow Democrats in the Assembly, are in thrall to the UFT's vote-getting power.

Clinton should take a close look at the union's contract. Clause after clause puts teacher perks before children's education. Is this what she stands for?

As long as she keeps spouting platitudes, the answer will be yes.

Judge Gets Justice

With his startling decision that the state law banning cameras in the courtroom is unconstitutional, Albany State Supreme Justice Joseph Teresi cleared the way for full televised coverage of the Amadou Diallo trial and took a major step toward openness. Now, he must go all the way and open all court proceedings and documents.

Teresi's order, issued Tuesday, is especially surprising because he had such a poor record on public and press access in this case. In the blink of an eye, he has switched from permitting secret lawyer conferences and sealing evidence to tossing out the state's camera ban.

Cameras should be welcome in the courtrooms of New York, as they are in most of the country. The courts exist to serve the public, and the public should have full access.

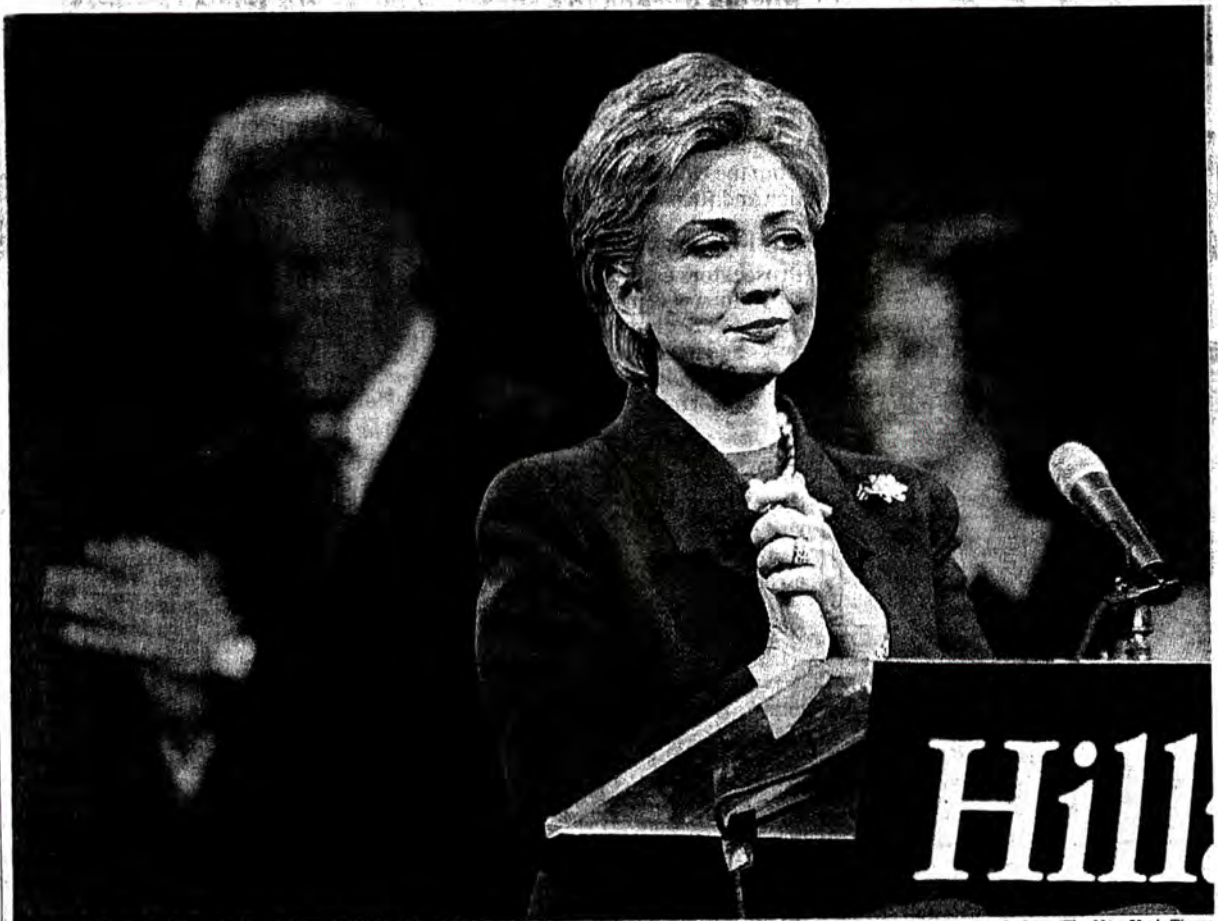
That's especially true in the Diallo case.

In one of the most explosive trials in years, four police officers are charged with murder in the death of Diallo, who was felled in a barrage of 41 bullets last February. Moving the trial from the Bronx to Albany has fueled public distrust. Full access for the press and public is essential to maintaining confidence in the judicial system. That's why this newspaper, along with seven other news organizations, petitioned Teresi for access to all matters before the court.

He unwisely refused and sealed two categories of evidence — an order now being appealed.

The New York Times

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 2000



"I am a new Democrat," Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday in announcing her candidacy for the Senate.

It's Official: First Lady Is Now Candidate Clinton

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

PURCHASE, N.Y., Feb. 6 — With her husband seated as a mere on-looker at the rear of the stage, Hillary Rodham Clinton declared her candidacy for the United States Senate this afternoon, presenting herself as a "new Democrat" who views government as neither the cause of nor the solution to the nation's problems.

In a spectacle of media and politics, all packed into a loud and raucous gymnasium at the State University of New York campus here, Mrs. Clinton formally inaugurated what was as much a rite of family passage as a political one. It was Mrs. Clinton who was the center of attention today; President Clinton, whose term in office ends in just 11 months, did not utter a single public word during the 32 minutes he spent on stage.

But he did not have to. Mrs. Clinton adopted the message President Clinton

A Day of Media Frenzy as Giuliani Pursues TV Spotlight, Too

ton rode to the White House in 1992 — much the way Vice President Al Gore has during his campaign for president — as she sought to begin what her aides hope will be a new, and less troubled, phase of her campaign against Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City.

"I am a new Democrat," Mrs. Clinton said. "I don't believe that government is the source of all our problems or the solution to them. But I do believe that when people live up to their responsibilities, we ought to live up to ours, to help them build better lives. I believe that's the basic bargain we owe to one another in

America today."

With her announcement, a ceremony in American politics that has traditionally offered candidates an unfettered chance to make their case to voters, she went to great pains to present herself as a public figure in her own right, and not just a product of her husband's success. The day, choreographed down to the last camera shot, was filled with reminders of this, from the gauzy 18-minute biographical video that introduced her, to the personal anecdotes sprinkled through her speech, to what was written on the huge banner at her back: just "Hillary."

As a rule, politicians tend to step aside on the days when their rivals formally declare their candidacy. But Mr. Giuliani, who takes some pleasure in defying traditional political rules, was anything but a recluse. He rode the morning talk show cir-

Continued on Page A19

New York Times, Mon, Feb. 7, 2000

Mrs. Clinton Formally Announces Senate Run

Continued From Page A1

cuit today with vigor, presenting the case for his candidacy, and the case against Mrs. Clinton, on five separate news programs. He took great pains to note his long years in public service, and repeatedly referred to his official duties in contrast to what he called the Hollywood-style event unfolding upstate.

"I think ultimately it's bigger than any one issue or any one personality," Mr. Giuliani said of a viable candidacy for the Senate. "It's a sense of trust that people have to have. And I guess what I would say to them is, in my case, they have a record of public service in the state of New York for a very long time."

He shuttled from studio to studio, and at the ABC studio on Times Square, where he appeared on "This Week," he indicated that unlike his opponent, he probably would forgo announcing altogether, because he had, in the past, won the elections where he had never announced.

Asked whether he was superstitious, he replied: "I think so. I have to admit."

Democrats had anxiously looked forward to Mrs. Clinton's speech today, hoping that she would restore their confidence in her candidacy after what they viewed as an unsteady start and also hoping that she would offer a compelling case for New Yorkers to elect someone to the Senate who has not held public office or lived in the state until a month ago.

"Now I know, some people are asking why I'm doing this, here and now," she said. "And that's a fair question. Here's my answer, and why I hope you'll put me to work for you: I may be new to the neighborhood, but I'm not new to your concerns."

In pomp and scale and sheer spectacle, Mrs. Clinton's announcement was, almost certainly, unlike any other staged by a candidate running for public office in New York before. The gym at Purchase College, which is about 10 miles south of Mrs. Clinton's new home in Chappaqua, began

filling up with news crews at 7 a.m.; by 1 p.m., there was not a spot to be had on the risers that were set up for photographers and television crews. It was broadcast live on CNN, C-Span, New York 1 and MSNBC.

The event attracted an eclectic mixture of supporters and critics of the first family. Sidney Blumenthal, the White House aide and longtime Clinton adviser, and Ann Lewis, Mr. Clinton's communications director, milled around in a gymnasium that also included John Podhoretz, the conservative commentator and New York Post columnist, and Lucianne Goldberg, the book agent associated with the Linda Tripp tapes.

Most of the state's Democratic members of Congress had been flown from a party retreat in Virginia as a show of support for Mrs. Clinton's entry. Other prominent New York politicians, including Fernando Ferrer, the Bronx borough president, were lined up outside the gym trying to get in.

Mrs. Clinton did not mention Mr. Giuliani's name during her speech. But she made some obvious references to her opponent as she signaled some of the roads of attack that she intended to follow.

"There's one other thing I'll fight against: the politics of revenge and retribution," she said as shouts of "Yes" could be heard in the by-invitation-only crowd. "If you put me to work for you, I'll work to lift people up — not push them down."

Mrs. Clinton was introduced by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the four-term New York Democrat who is retiring at the end of this term. Mr. Moynihan has been suffering from back difficulties, so his attendance was in doubt until the last minute. Walking with evident difficulty onto the stage, he compared Mrs. Clinton to Eleanor Roosevelt in a brief tribute and introduction.

The biographical video of Mrs. Clinton marked the start of an effort by her campaign to present a fuller, and softer, portrait of the first lady. Mrs. Clinton, in an interview last week, said she believed that a lack of information about her — or misinformation spread by enemies — ac-

counted for the reluctance of some voters to rally behind her candidacy.

Titled just "Hillary," the video was created by the television producer Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, who produced a similar video for Mr. Clinton when he ran for president in 1992. The audience attentively watched the sympathetic portrait of Mrs. Clinton as an aggressive advocate for children, a lawyer and, finally, a standard-issue suburban mother, notwithstanding where she has spent the last seven years of her life.

"I make a mean tossed salad and a great omelet," Mrs. Clinton said, in a pink sweater with a single strand of pearls at her neck. (It was reminiscent of Mrs. Clinton's last foray into cooking, when in 1992, during her husband's first presidential campaign, she remarked that instead of having a professional career, she could have stayed home and baked cookies.)

In her announcement speech, Mrs. Clinton presented herself as an advocate for schools and health care, sounding two of the main themes of the campaign. At times, she sounded much like Mr. Clinton had sounded last month as he delivered his final State of the Union speech. She pledged to support tax deductions to help with college tuition, easing the marriage penalty, raising the minimum wage, and expanding the earned income tax credit.

Without mentioning Mr. Giuliani's name, she raised two issues on which they do not share similar views. "I'll be on your side in the fight against school vouchers, which drain taxpayer dollars from our public schools," she said. "I'll be on your side in the fight against any tax cut so big it would take us back to the bad old days of exploding deficits and deep recessions, making it impossible for us to save Social Security and Medicare, fund our educational needs, and pay down our national debt."

As Mrs. Clinton spoke, supporters held almost 600 house parties across the state to watch Mrs. Clinton speak, and to raise money for her campaign.

New York Times, Mon. Feb. 7, 2000



James Estrin/The New York Times

A fan posed for a picture with Hillary Rodham Clinton, official Senate candidate, yesterday in Purchase, N.Y.

Mrs. Clinton's Launch

Hillary Rodham Clinton officially started her candidacy for the Senate yesterday with a polished speech designed to reintroduce her to New Yorkers as a capable campaigner. Her confident delivery struck a sharp contrast with the gaffes of last fall. President Clinton's silent role fit with a plan to present the first lady as someone with an independent identity as a lawyer and child advocate who nonetheless will carry on his political causes. Having endured months of questioning about her political skills, Mrs. Clinton will get good reviews for this political performance, which probably explains why Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's campaign immediately attacked the "Hollywood" staging of the event in Purchase.

Mrs. Clinton hit the carpetbagger question head on. "I may be new to the neighborhood," she said, "but I'm not new to your concerns." Then she laid out an issues agenda — education, health care, more jobs upstate and in the inner city — designed to make a connection to key constituencies. At the same time, Mrs. Clinton tried to protect herself from conservative attack by referring to herself as a New Democrat who favors capital punishment, balanced budgets and more cops on the beat.

Some commentators and voters will probably find the biographical film by Linda Bloodworth-Thomason to be cloying in content and clumsy in its mimicking of Mr. Clinton's campaign video, "The Man From Hope." But with this film about her interest in children and with references to Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Clinton and her supporters made

it clear that she will concentrate on the women voters that some polls have shown to be drifting away from her. She mentioned family issues like environmental connections to breast cancer on Long Island and the impact of guns and televised violence on children.

Although Mrs. Clinton did not mention Mr. Giuliani by name, she served notice that she will not be timid about drawing contrasts on issues and on temperament. She underscored her commitment to humane policies toward the homeless and her opposition to school vouchers, an idea the Mayor wants to try in the city. More pointedly, she closed with a vow to avoid "the divisive politics of revenge and retribution." She added, "I'll work to lift people up, not push them down."

Perhaps most noteworthy was the overall tone of Mrs. Clinton's address. She seemed eager to communicate a genuine hunger for the job and a humorous acceptance of the fact that New Yorkers are tough on their politicians. With a line designed to convey both independence and a link to her husband's style in 1992, she said, "I'll fight my heart out for you every single day."

It was a smooth beginning in a carefully controlled political environment. The real test for Mrs. Clinton's candidacy will be whether she can extend the professionalism of the kickoff rally into other aspects of the campaign by fully elaborating her issues and becoming more available to the press and the public.

New York Times
Mon, Feb. 7, 2000

In America

BOB HERBERT

Another Glass Ceiling

The bad news is that 16 percent of the women in this country and 17 percent of the men say they would not vote for a woman for president.

The good news is that those percentages are sharply lower than just eight years ago, when 26 percent of American women and nearly 4 out of every 10 men said they could not pull the lever for a woman running for president.

We may be in the 21st century, and life may be improving, but a fair number of us still hold some ancient attitudes.

The presidential race this year is wide open and the most exciting in a long time. But all of the contenders, as usual, are men in suits (or earth-tone sweaters and cowboy boots). Elizabeth Dole spent a minute or two warming up, but she couldn't even rally the wholehearted support of her husband.

A woman in the White House? What if a war were to break out? What if the economy went south? What in the world would she do?

Marie Wilson, the president of the Ms. Foundation for Women and one of the creators of Take Our Daughters to Work Day, has had enough of the bogus fears and the stereotyping and the ignorance. She is on a campaign to raise the consciousness of Americans to the leadership potential in that half of the population that is routinely taken less seriously than men.

She calls her campaign, which has \$3 million in financing so far, the White House Project. Her goal is to hasten the day when a woman is elected president, but not just that.

"What we're trying to do is change the climate in America, to make it

friendly toward women's leadership," she said. "As long as there are only one or two women who are seen as potential leaders, the focus will be on gender. We want to permanently increase the number of women who run for office in this country. We want to normalize the whole process so that it is not about one woman at a time."

People were calling 1992 the "year of the woman" in politics. But now, nearly a decade later, there are only 9 women among the 100 U.S. senators, 56 women in the 435-member House of Representatives and just 3 women among the 50 governors.

The women who aspire to high public office are often viewed differently than male candidates. A survey commissioned by Deloitte & Touche and released last month found that the public, in general, "puts more stock in a male candidate's ability to tackle tough issues."

Thus, the tougher the job is perceived to be — and nothing is considered tougher than the presidency — the less likely it is that a woman will get the nod.

A report that accompanied the Deloitte & Touche survey said:

"The results of the poll show that on the surface Americans express widespread support for women in high political office. However, the public's underlying attitudes toward women reveal persistent stereotypes that serve to undermine women's chances for election to high public office."

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who officially announced her run for the Senate yesterday, was asked by a radio reporter a couple of weeks ago about the venomous reaction she elicits in some quarters. She replied: "I know it's out there and I think some of it is because of the positions that I've taken and maybe a little of it is because I'm a woman taking those positions. And maybe some of it is people don't like my hair style. I don't know what it is."

There was a venomous reaction in some quarters to that answer. And maybe it wasn't particularly politic. But, surely, some of the heat Mrs. Clinton is taking is because she's a woman.

Marie Wilson has been scrupulously nonpartisan in her campaign to promote women for high public office. And she doesn't want voters to vote for women simply because they are women.

What she wants, she says, is to accelerate the improvement in the public's acceptance of women in high office that has been occurring over the past several years, and to radically expand the number of women seeking top leadership positions.

She is sponsoring media campaigns, commissioning surveys, conducting mock elections, doing whatever it takes to spread the word that women are as capable as men of running the government of the United States of America. □

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so unwilling to
elect women to
high public office?

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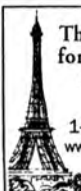
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The New Yorker
 THE POLITICAL SCENE

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RUNNING ON EMPATHY

Hillary Clinton wants to show New York that even a carpetbagger can care.

BY ELIZABETH KOLBERT

IN any campaign, there are big lies and there are little ones. The difference is not so much moral as practical, just as it is in everyday life. What might at first have been fascinating about the Clintons but is, by now, mostly just maddening is the deliberate mud-

orchestrated appearance, Bill strode outside, put his arm around Hillary, and spoke about how happy he was to be in Chappaqua.

"We're seeing some things we haven't seen since we moved to the White House, and some things we haven't seen in sev-



A lot of the First Lady's blunders so far have been those of an outsider.

dle they have made of this distinction.

Last month, the First Couple completed their long-awaited move—"move" here being understood in the loosest possible sense. If not yet the most photographed five-bedroom home in America, 15 Old House Lane is well on its way, and the elegant lines of its gambrel roofs are probably by now familiar to most New Yorkers. Naturally, the Clintons were concerned about the symbolism of the event, and they decided, at the last minute, that the President would have to arrive with his wife, even though that meant putting off their entrance until after dark. The next morning, in what is known in the trade as a carefully

enteen years," the President told reporters, striking a theme that Mrs. Clinton returned to, even more emotionally, a few days later, at a news conference in White Plains. "You know," she said, "it's hard to describe, but when we began pulling things out of storage, which I'm still doing, I mean, we have wedding presents we've never gotten a chance to use, and so I'm putting them up in cabinets and unpacking boxes with mementos people gave us or things that I have from my grandmother that I haven't seen for a long time." Then she added, in all apparent earnestness, "It's a very, you know, great personal experience for both of us."

The first year of Mrs. Clinton's New

York experience is just ending, and on Sunday she is scheduled to announce officially her candidacy for the United States Senate. Things are not, on the whole, going well. Her halting and always implausible campaign has, so far, consisted mostly of gaffes, wasted opportunities, and prurient questions from the press. Just two weeks after she and her husband unpacked their things, the First Lady was ambushed by reporters in Buffalo and forced to declare publicly that, no, she did not intend to get a divorce, nor had she ever had sex with Vince Foster. Meanwhile, literally hundreds of journalists show up whenever she does anything the slightest bit noteworthy, and when she is in control of the agenda she uses the occasion to say at some length almost nothing. After visiting forty counties in the state—an accomplishment she recently boasted about to David Letterman—she keeps coming back to the same tautology: she cares deeply about those issues about which New Yorkers deeply care.

When Mrs. Clinton first decided to take the race on, it was a bold act that seemed to demand an even bolder follow-through. How does someone mount a Senate campaign from a state where she has never lived if she has no record of accomplishment to point to and is, on top of all that, widely distrusted? The answer that is emerging is, like the First Lady's sentimental musings on her tchotchkes, at once stranger and more ordinary than could have been expected: she is planning, it seems, to base her candidacy on the quality of her concern, the heartfulness of her convictions, and the depth of her feeling—to run, in other words, on her sincerity.

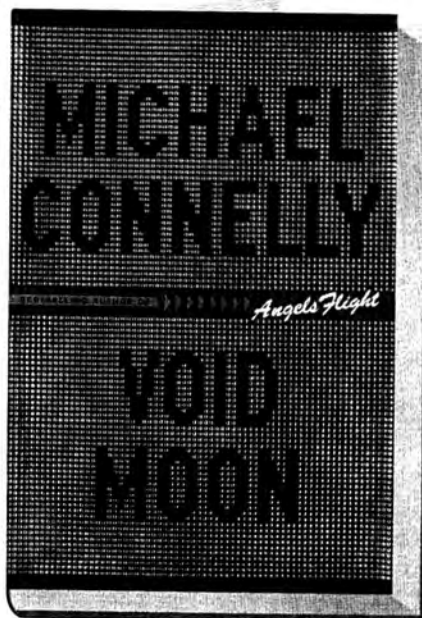
MRS. CLINTON likes to talk about the issues, or, perhaps more accurately, to talk about talking about the issues. Her favorites are education and health care, which polls show to be precisely the same ones New York voters put at the top of their lists. Often, when the discussion seems to be headed in a direction she doesn't care for, Mrs. Clinton invokes "the issues" to reorient it. What she means by the term, however, is a bit slippery.

"What's important to me are the issues," she said at a recent press conference at the Westchester County Democratic Committee headquarters, in White Plains. "I mean, who, at the end of the

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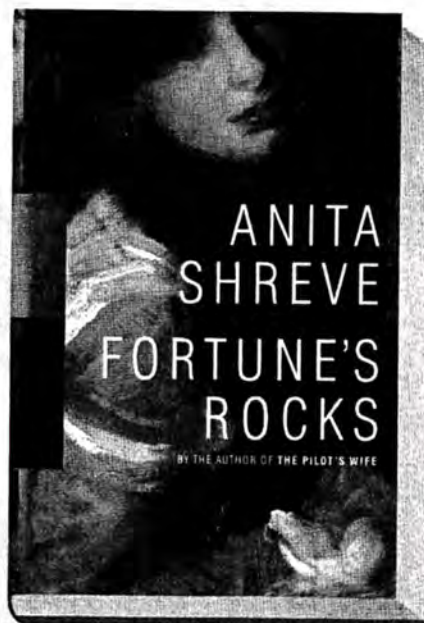
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day, is going to improve education for the children of New York? Who's going to improve health care for the people of New York? Who's going to bring people together? And that's what I'm going to be talking about."

Later, she observed, along the same lines, "I think that the real issue ought to be who cares about the children of New York City, and who will work day in and day out to advance the interests of the education system."

In principle, at least, questions of public policy are not equivalent to questions of disposition. But Mrs. Clinton insistently conflates the two. A few weeks ago, I went to hear her address an interfaith breakfast at Riverside Church, in upper Manhattan. Like most of her appearances so far, this one was before an audience predisposed in her favor; in addition to clergy members and social activists, there were several prominent Democrats in the crowd, including former mayor David Dinkins. Twenty tables had been set up in the church's large vaulted assembly hall, each with eight seats. Mrs. Clinton arrived at the event half an hour late, dressed, as she almost always is these days, in a dark pants suit with a long flared jacket. She proceeded to make her way around all

the tables until she had shaken hands with every guest. Then she moved on to the kitchen staff.

Mrs. Clinton alludes often to the "challenges before us," and also to "commitment" and "hard work" and the importance of "bringing people together" or, alternatively, "to the table." She is emphatically in favor of doing more to "support" people. "Parents are a child's first teachers, and we have to do a better job of supporting families in that most important function," she said at one point at Riverside Church. "All children can learn, if they are given the support," she added a little bit later on. "I want to work very hard to make sure that the Congress supports school districts that are supporting schools that are making the changes that will really help students learn," she said just a few moments after that.

In putting together her campaign staff, Mrs. Clinton has rehabilitated several former White House aides who had fallen out of favor; most of them share a pronounced liberal bent. Harold Ickes, a senior adviser to the campaign, for example, is a onetime aide to Jesse Jackson who left the Clinton Administration after being passed over for White House chief of staff. Mandy



"Go ask your search engine."

Grunwald, another top campaign adviser, was one of the aides the President blamed, quite probably unfairly, for the Democrats' loss of Congress in 1994.

First Lady's inner circle, as the Giuliani camp likes to point out, now bears a strong resemblance to the President's in the days before he took up triangulation. It is thus tempting to read her freehanded promises of "support" and her frequent protestations of "concern" as evidence of an ideological program in code. But that would be almost too generous.

As unsympathetic as reporters may be to the First Lady, they have, in a desperate search for news from her campaign, obscured the extent to which her remarks routinely drift off into a haze of good intentions. Mrs. Clinton brings to her public appearances a great deal of poise and seriousness of purpose, which, more than anything she actually says, is what the events tend to be about. This was the singular insight of the First Lady's unprecedented "listening tour," during which she tried to elevate nodding into a kind of political philosophy: so long as the "issue" is attitude, a politician doesn't have to say much of anything to make a point.

I think it's appropriate to take a few minutes to reflect on some of the issues that people of faith have in common, and from my perspective, as I have travelled extensively now through New York and been in the company of so many different New Yorkers from so many different walks of life, I agree that the challenges before us, as individuals, as members and leaders of the community of faith, as those who already hold positions of public responsibility and those who seek them, that we do all share and should be committed to an understanding of how we make progress, but we define that progress broadly, deeply, and profoundly," Mrs. Clinton told the crowd at Riverside Church, giving special emphasis to the words "deeply" and "profoundly."

IN New York, there is no right answer to the question "Are you going to march in the St. Patrick's Day parade?"—just degrees of wrongness. Though the day may seem, to outsiders, mostly an excuse for public drunkenness, it is also a forum for the long-running battle over the rights of religious organizations to exclude homosexuals. Mrs.

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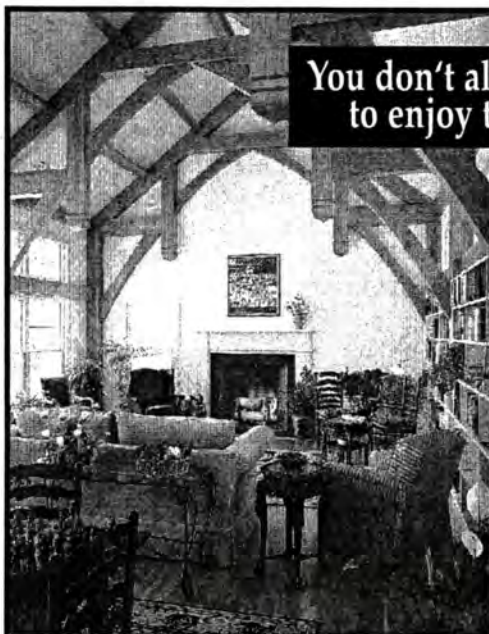
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Clinton apparently did not realize this when, back in early December, she blithely declared, "I would hope so!"

A lot of the First Lady's blunders so far have been those of an outsider: first, the donning of the Yankees cap; then the reminiscences about a childhood pit stop in Elmira; then the revelation of a Jewish stepgrandfather—all were efforts to find a connection, no matter how piddling, to her adoptive state. But even taking into account the inevitable hazards of carpetbagging, Mrs. Clinton has proved maladroit at it. Sometime after the contretemps over clemency for members of a Puerto Rican terrorist organization (she first supported it, then opposed it) but before the contretemps over embracing Suha Arafat (she said she did not realize Mrs. Arafat was accusing the Israelis of poisoning Palestinian children), a lot of Democratic politicians in New York began to lose heart.

In public, the tone of their pronouncements about the race has grown increasingly wan, abstracted, and non-committal. In private, they mostly just complain. "I don't think she has the instincts for it," one Democratic elected official from the city told me. Of Mrs. Clinton and her advisers, "They seem to have a tin ear for New York politics," a longtime party activist from upstate said. "She's got nobody who understands the grit of it all," another influential New York City Democrat griped to me. Indeed, Mrs. Clinton's campaign was, until quite recently, essentially a Washington-based operation; not until December, when she hired a campaign manager, Bill de Blasio, a former aide to Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo, did anyone of real authority in the organization even live inside the state.

What, exactly, Mrs. Clinton is doing in New York is the dead cat in the eaves of her campaign. It affects everything, and it is the one thing that no one wants to deal with. Right before the Clintons' move, one of her advisers told me, in all apparent seriousness, that after the novelty of her living in Chappaqua wore off people would forget that where she came from had ever been an issue. The First Lady declined to be interviewed for this article, or, for that matter, for more than a hundred others, but at one of her recent press conferences I did manage to shout out a question about whether the fact that she was

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not a New Yorker was relevant to the race. In response, Mrs. Clinton said she didn't want to presume too much: "I could not prejudge how that decision will be made by any individual New Yorker."

Then she steered the discussion back to the depth of her feeling. "I think it's fair that people say to themselves, 'Well, I want to be sure that she's committed to New York, that she cares about New York, and that she's going to fight for New York,'" she said. "And I think I will be able to demonstrate all three of those attributes during this campaign."

When pollsters ask voters what they most dislike about Mrs. Clinton, her not being from the state is at the top of the list. Last winter, before she had started shopping for real estate and when the race was still largely hypothetical, the First

Lady was leading the Mayor in the polls by more than ten points; now they have reversed positions. Particularly disturbing to Party leaders is the reception she is getting from other suburbanites: among voters in this group she is more than fifteen points behind Giuliani. More ominous still is the response of other women.

When blacks, who overwhelmingly favor the First Lady, are taken out of the sample, she trails Giuliani among female voters by several points.

Whatever this gap is about, it is clearly not about the issues, at least as conventionally defined. To the extent that Mrs. Clinton's campaign has a strategy, it is to press her inherent advantage on abortion rights, the environment, and gun control, as well as on health care and education. Without offering anything very substantive on these topics—Mrs. Clinton will not even say, for example, whether or not she still believes in the basic precepts of the health-care plan she proposed seven years ago—she can nevertheless count on a majority of New York voters assuming they agree with her. In recent weeks, she has taken up what will doubtless become a major theme of her campaign: the vulnerability of *Roe v. Wade* and the makeup of the next Supreme Court. To eke out a victory, Mrs. Clinton hopes to inspire a heavy minority turnout in the city, to convince suburbanites that the Mayor does not, in the end, share their values, and to appeal to job-hungry districts upstate with a message of economic hope.

All of which is to say that she is aiming to win as a fairly ordinary Democratic candidate, in spite of her extraordinary history and the resentments it has inspired.

The Mayor's pollster, Frank Luntz, told me that a few months ago he conducted his own "listening tour" of New York to assess the First Lady's strengths and weaknesses. He said that he was struck by how much bad feeling there was out there toward her that defied reasoned analysis. Women in particular expressed their distaste in strong but inchoate terms. "The theme was 'I don't like her,'" he said. "Why? 'I just don't!'" Luntz, of course, is a biased listener, but two prominent Democratic officials told me, independently, that they had noticed much the same pattern in talking to female friends and constituents. They used the same word to sum up their findings: the feeling, they said, was "visceral."



ing to female friends and constituents. They used the same word to sum up their findings: the feeling, they said, was "visceral."

FOR weeks, Mrs. Clinton declined David Letterman's invitation, but when she finally appeared on his show, smiling, kidding, and exchanging flattery with the "Big Guy," it was hard to see why. Their conversation was the closest that Mrs. Clinton has come for more than six months to providing an extended sitdown interview, and as a media event it could hardly have gone more smoothly. New Yorkers got a chance to see the First Lady face the tough questions in what turned out to be the safest possible context: Letterman broached the delicate issue of her not being from New York but did not press the matter, and before giving her a "pop quiz" on state trivia—state bird, state tree, and so on—he warned her about it in advance. Mrs. Clinton was smart enough to laugh at herself and self-possessed enough to do so in a way that, for all the event's evident staginess, seemed genuine.

It is a disarming fact about Mrs. Clinton that, in spite of all she has been through, she retains an implicit faith in herself and in her ability to appeal to voters on a personal, even intimate, level. If the calculated emptiness of her rhetoric often makes her seem detached, under the right circumstances she can still manage to project a sense of warmth and engagement and, finally, sincerity. This is

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a considerable strength in a politician, and it explains what may seem, on the face of it, to be her self-defeating electoral strategy. More than one Democratic official suggested to me that the key to the campaign would be how many New Yorkers the First Lady could get out and meet face to face, and while in practical terms this is a dubious notion—just five per cent of the New York electorate is five hundred thousand handshakes—it does get at something important about the race.

Recently, I met up with Mrs. Clinton on the two-day swing through western New York during which she was harried by questions about divorce and adultery. By the time she got to her final stop, at a senior center in Cheektowaga, a suburb of Buffalo, members of her press entourage were happier than they had been for weeks. The First Lady's press secretary, Howard Wolfson, meanwhile, looked as if he were about to be sick.

Whatever Mrs. Clinton might have been feeling, she didn't show it. A crowd of more than two hundred had gathered to meet her in a huge room decorated with foil snowflakes. Over and over again, elderly women told the First Lady that she looked prettier or skinnier than she does on TV, and she thanked each with the effusive surprise of someone hearing such a compliment for the first time. One woman was so choked up to meet Mrs. Clinton that she could barely speak. Another launched into a lengthy, and, to me, largely incomprehensible account of how her mother's house had been foreclosed, and how some sort of law ought to be enacted to prevent such things from happening. The First Lady listened intently, and then, when it was all over, said in a tone of deep appreciation, "Thanks so much for bringing that to my attention."

Mrs. Clinton lacks many of her husband's political skills—among them his flexibility, his sense of nuance, and his gift for improvisation. But she shares with him a genius for gestures of empathy. Unlike most people, and even most politicians, she stares unflinchingly into the eyes of those she is meeting, and in the midst of a noisy crowd still seems entirely focussed on whatever they are saying. After she had passed by, I asked several people what their impression of the First Lady had been, and the same words kept cropping up: "honest," "open," "nice," "sincere."

"While you're talking, she's actually listening to what you're saying," Helen Anzalone, a retired teacher, told me. "She doesn't just want to get away."

The first time I met Mrs. Clinton was in August of 1992, at the height of the Presidential campaign and six months after her famous appearance with her husband on "60 Minutes." The Clintons were in the midst of one of their bus tours, winding somewhere through the scrub of east Texas, and I bumped into Mrs. Clinton as I was making my way to the back of the candidate's bus to interview him. She put out her hand, and I remember being struck by the intensity of her gaze, but even more by what she said: "Hi, I'm Hillary Clinton." This seemed to me a pretty good joke on celebrity, and I recall being about to smile but then catching myself. She wasn't, I saw, poking fun at the situation but, rather, insisting on a sort of sublime humility: since she didn't know my name, perhaps I didn't know hers.

There is no inherent contradiction between enormous personal ambition and a genuine commitment to helping others. Indeed, there are probably few public figures who have had a lasting impact in whom these two motives have not both been at work. But the Clintons have never wanted to suggest this about themselves. Instead, they have made the most of the neediness of the electorate, or, if one prefers, its narcissism. From "Putting People First" to the listening tour, the message has always been one of elaborate deference and solicitude. What they saw early on, and with exceptional clarity, is that voters would forgive an awful lot in a politician who could manage to say convincingly that he really cared.

But extending this pretense—that the campaign is all about the voters rather than the candidate—to Mrs. Clinton's current quest pushes its logic to the breaking point. It is a little like robbing Peter to pay Peter, or, as Fabian in "Twelfth Night" observes, "This is to give a dog and in recompense desire my dog again." To run for the Senate after the carnage of the last eight years is nothing if not an extraordinary assertion of self. It makes sense only if the First Lady has an exceptionally strong motive, be it personal or political. Yet this is precisely what she cannot—or will not—provide. ♦

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Style

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 2000

The Arts
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Candidate in the Wind

How a Wavering Hillary Rodham Clinton Finally Decided to Declare

By **KEVIN MERIDA**
Washington Post Staff Writer

Well, it's about time. Yesterday, Hillary Rodham Clinton turned the longest-running unofficial campaign in political soap-opera history into something real. She is now an actual, for-the-record, read-my-lips candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York.

Really.

Children sang. A biopic was shown. And 24,000

New Yorkers celebrated at Hillary house parties around the state.

So in honor of the long-awaited moment, we thought we'd retrace HRC's Long and Winding Road of Consideration. The dinners and consultations, the "listening tours," the house hunting, the house buying, the house moving, the house unpacking. The leaks, the knock-downs, the put-back-ups. The flirtations and frustrations.

The story begins more than a year ago, Jan. 3, 1999, specifically, when Sen. Robert Torricelli (D-N.J.) appeared on NBC's "Meet the Press." Chat-

ting with host Tim Russert beforehand, he casually mentioned—hint, hint—that he believed the first lady might run for the Senate in New York. Not that the Torch had discussed the matter with Lady Clinton. The Torch just wanted Russert to ask him a question on the air so he could properly do his trial-balloon work. Get some buzz going. Smoke her out. And sure enough, Russert obliged and news was made.

"I knew Hillary Clinton was debating whether

See JOURNEY, C2, Col. 1



BY TIMOTHY A. CLARY—AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

The first lady makes it official: She's a candidate for the U.S. Senate.

1 of 5

It's About Time! Hillary Clinton's Year-Long Journey Toward Yes

JOURNEY, From C1

to be a candidate, at least intellectually," Torricelli recalls. He learned this from her friends. He already had planted the idea with his buddy, hubby Clinton, who endorsed the idea but didn't want to push his wife. "I feared that an intellectual discussion would go on for months," says Torricelli. "My purpose was simply to generate a flood of phone calls and support to say she should run, and if she did she would win."

That's his job. That's what it means to be candidate recruiter in chief, otherwise known as chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. So, Torch got the public ball rolling. The phone calls became a flood, and the buzz became a roar, and HRC's Senate contemplation went beyond the intellectual, but it still went on for months ... and months ... and months. Clinton would later confide that the notion itself started dancing around in her head right after Nov. 6, 1998. That's when Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) announced he was vacating the seat he has occupied since 1977.

To be blunt, the Democratic bigwigs were mortified over their options. John F. Kennedy Jr., Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo and former treasury secretary Robert Rubin had all turned them down. Which left Rep. Nita Lowey. Which left the bigwigs at Hillary Clinton's feet begging. They knew she desired to live in New York. They knew she desired a career out of her husband's shadow. They knew she would bring to the race her own following and generate her own funding.

Cut to Charlie Rangel. The gravel-



The president and the then-unofficial candidate outside their new house.

voiced congressman from Harlem took to the newspapers and airwaves and corner bodegas (at least he could have) with cheerleading vengeance. He and Torricelli were like a World Wrestling Federation tag team. The "We Want Hillary!" frenzy took off. By March 1999, "news" started pouring out of the Hillary camp. With the speed of a slug. With the relevance of an International Basketball League game.

There was the news, for instance, that she was "considering" forming an exploratory committee. That broke on March 11. It would take until July 6 for her to actually form such a committee.

In the intervening months, there was the news that she wouldn't make a decision until late summer or early fall. Wrong! There were polls showing she would kick New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani's you-know-what. Premature!

There were reports of White House dinners, coffees and numerous phone conversations with influential New York political players—everyone from Rep. Jose Serrano to state Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver to someone named Steve Paquette, the Democratic chairman of someplace called Onondaga County. How widespread was her support in the state? she asked. Would she be able to overcome the carpetbagger label? What issues should she focus on? Could she really beat Rudy? How? Why?

When publicly queried about a Senate bid, HRC would tease that she was giving "careful thought" to the race. Stay tuned.

Thus, while her fans pined away, they were treated to a spate of absurdly equivocal stories leaked from Camp Hillary. Most read something like this:

Friends say it appears increas-

ingly likely that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton will run for the Senate. But other confidants caution that she has not yet made a final decision and could still choose to opt out of the race.

Okaaaay.

Clearly she was in no hurry.

HRC at Moynihan's farm, July 7: "I must say that I think it will do everyone some good if we just sort of take this at a slower, more relaxed pace. That is one of the things I am actually looking forward to. I am really excited about being able to take these long, beautiful summer days and, you know, kind of at a leisurely pace with, you know, a few hundred of you, travel from place to place and meet people and stop and visit. That's very exciting to me."

That's very boring to us.

On Sept. 2, the Clintons entered into a contract to buy a \$1.7 million, five-bedroom Georgian-Colonial in the affluent Westchester County hamlet of Chappaqua. That move was cited by the New York Daily News as the "firmest evidence yet" that Clinton would make her candidacy official.

But three weeks later she was still playing footsie. Almost in, but not quite. Asked at a news conference if there was any chance she would not run for the Senate, HRC said: "I think that's a remote possibility." Still, she was not ready to make a final decision, she added. She wanted to create a "statewide presence," meet with different groups, reach out, be all that she can be as a non-candidate. "I am not going to short-circuit that process."

By then, the Charlie Rangels of the world were getting tired of promoting a stealth candidacy. They

publicly bore their frustration, sending a message to the first lady that it was time for a decision. Get in or get out.

"There's no campaign manager. There's no issues person. There's no regional person, and if you were to ask me anything at all about what I used to describe as 'my candidate,' I couldn't answer you," Rangel fumed. "I don't know how to deal with non-candidates involved in campaigns. ... When there is a candidate, then I will reengage."

By November, following a series of tactical and policy blunders and slippage in the polls, speculation mounted that she would back out of the race. "Well, if she doesn't [run]," said former New York City mayor Ed Koch on "Larry King Live," "she's going to look so stupid and silly, it would be shameful for her."

Not wanting to look stupid or silly, Clinton used a United Federation of Teachers event on Nov. 23 in New York to put to rest rumors that she might forgo a Senate bid. "Yes, I intend to run," she said in response to an orchestrated question by union President Randi Weingarten.

Not that she was ready to make an official announcement. There was supposed to have been an announcement in January, but it didn't happen. January was about moving into the new crib and doing David Letterman's show. February was for announcing her candidacy, though it should be noted that Giuliani has yet to formally announce his. Something about superstition, he claims. The last time—the only time—he made a formal announcement for elective office was in 1989 when he first ran for mayor, and lost. He told reporters in Washington last week that he

would probably become a candidate for the Senate "in the middle of the night."

Yesterday, Hillary Rodham Clinton became a candidate in the middle of the day.

"Now I know it's not always going to be an easy campaign," she told the cheering throngs at the State University of New York at Purchase. "But, hey, this is New York."

So what took so long?

"Hillary wanted to do it at her own pace," says campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson. "I think the timing is just perfect."

Well, not really perfect.

"I don't think the long process served us well," acknowledges Torricelli, "but I don't think there was any choice. You couldn't make a declaration of candidacy a year and a half in advance. It's a complicated matter making the transition from first lady to candidate. Some time had to pass. And that time had to be used quietly to prepare. But I don't think there was ever any indecision. I think Hillary actually made the decision much earlier than people think."

Staff researcher Alice Crites contributed to this report.

Washington Post
Feb. 7, 2000



Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) and President Clinton applaud first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton as she announces her Senate candidacy in Purchase, N.Y. Others spoke, but the president did not address the crowd.

BY KATHY WILLENS—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Clinton Makes It Official

N.Y. Senate Hopeful Stresses Advocacy

By LYNNE DUKE
Washington Post Staff Writer

PURCHASE, N.Y., Feb. 6—Hillary Rodham Clinton formally launched her candidacy for the U.S. Senate today, portraying herself as a "New Democrat" committed to both energetic government and fiscal responsibility while directly addressing criticism that she is an outsider in New York.

In perhaps the most extraordinary feature of the long-awaited announcement here, President Clinton applauded, laughed and nodded approvingly as his wife and other allies spoke, but said not a word himself.

Though a resident of New York for only a month, Hillary Clinton justified her candidacy by citing her long career of advocacy for families and children, from improving health care and public education to worker training and child care.

"Some people are asking why

I'm doing this here and now. That's a fair question," Clinton said. "Here's my answer—and why I hope you'll put me to work for you: I may be new to the neighborhood. But I'm not new to your concerns."

The rousing cheer she received was only a small part of the political theater on display today in the State University of New York at Purchase gymnasium, where about 2,000 supporters gathered with the Clintons, daughter Chelsea, the first lady's mother, Dorothy, and much of New York's Democratic establishment to launch the first lady on her historic campaign. She seemed especially moved by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who cited another famous first lady in introducing the candidate: "Hillary, Eleanor Roosevelt would love you."

As with Eleanor Roosevelt, Hillary Clinton is one of the most polarizing figures in Amer-

See HILLARY, A4, Col. 1

Washington Post
Feb. 7, 2000

3 of 5

Hillary Clinton Announces for U.S. Senate as 'New Democrat'

HILLARY, From A1

a brief but unmistakable reference to the passions her unprecedented candidacy has created, promising to fight against the "divisive politics of revenge and retribution."

Clinton has her political work cut out for her in New York, where she starts off her campaign behind in the polls to her likely GOP rival, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. The mayor took advantage of the morning talk shows today to try to spoil Clinton's party, asking pointedly on CBS's "Face the Nation": "How is it that the Democratic Party can't come up with a candidate for the Senate from the state of New York?"

But Clinton hopes she will be buoyed by the large numbers of Democratic voters in New York—particularly in a presidential election year—and the as-yet-to-be-seen assistance of her husband, who has made clear that he sees her election as a crucial part of his political legacy. To whip up enthusiasm, her campaign held more than 500 house parties throughout the state today so that another 25,000 people could, after watching the announcement, listen in on a conference call from the candidate.

Clinton seemed transformed today into a political warrior as she finally made official the run she has been tentatively talking about for seven months, ticking off dozens of general and specific stances that she would promote in the Senate.

She defined herself as centrist Democrat committed to "welfare reform and better child care for working parents" as well as "more police on the beat and fewer guns on the street." But she received one of her biggest rounds of applause by sounding a more traditional Democratic theme: "No child should grow up in poverty in America in the 21st century."

Clinton said she still believes today what she spoke about 30 years ago in her commencement address at Wellesley College, published then in *Life* magazine. In the ensuing years, she said, she has gotten "a little older, a little blonder, a lot humbler. . . . But I often return to one thing I said way back then: that politics is the art of making possible what appears to be impossible."

Laying out the broad issues that have characterized her life's work and the past months of campaigning in New York, she said: "We can strengthen families. We can protect our children. We can improve our schools. We can provide health care to all our citizens. We can bring good jobs to every corner of New York."

Howard Wolfson, Clinton's campaign communications director, said the new candidate has been surprised by the extent to which New Yorkers do not know her or the issues she has worked on throughout her life. Because of that, this next phase of her campaign will be focused not only on laying out a campaign platform on issues and policies, but on laying out her individual persona so that people can get to know her as something other than just the first lady.

Washington Post

Feb. 7, 2000

she would push to pay down the national debt, strengthen Social Security, increase the minimum wage, cut taxes for middle-income families and press for "equal pay for every woman in every job."

On crime, she would stand for tough measures to prosecute hate crimes and otherwise stand against discrimination. She also would press for tougher gun control measures such as licensing all new handgun owners.

Clinton pledged to fight against school vouchers, any erosion of family planning or a woman's right to choose an abortion, and "any tax cut so big it would take us back to the bad old days of exploding deficits and deep recessions."

well as responsibility, respect and results."

"I don't believe government is the source of all our problems or the solution to them," she said. "But I do believe that when people live up to their responsibilities, we ought to live up to ours to help them build better lives. I believe that's the basic bargain we owe to one another."

"If you put me to work for you, I'll take these values to the Senate and fight my heart out for you every day," she added.

She then launched into a lengthy and specific listing of the goals she would fight for in the Senate. In broad brush, they included higher educational standards and smaller classroom sizes. On the economy, she said

examples of her record of service to demonstrate what she cares about, such as childhood education, job creation especially for upstate New York, research funds for cancer and other diseases, a new rating system for the entertainment industry to protect children from violence, and after-school programs and other safety nets for children.

"For over 30 years, in many different ways, I've seen firsthand the kinds of challenges New Yorkers face today," she said. "I care about the same issues you do. I understand them. I know I can make progress on them. That's why, my friends, I want to be your senator."

She laid out her belief in the "six Rs"—reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic as

To that end, today's announcement ceremony included the showing of "Hillary," a film produced by Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, a close friend of the Clintons who along with her husband, Harry Thomason, worked on Bill Clinton's presidential campaigns.

In the 18-minute video, a host of people who have worked with or otherwise known Clinton give testimonials to the various worthy aspects of her character. They included Col. Herbert J. Smith, an ill Persian Gulf War veteran who said he doesn't necessarily agree with her politics. But he described how Clinton intervened to advocate on behalf of him and other veterans suffering from Gulf War Syndrome.

"I can't help but admire her for that," Smith said. "She's a beautiful lady."

In her speech, Clinton used ex-



BY KATHY WILLENS—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan applauds as Hillary Clinton hugs her husband, daughter Chelsea, and mother, Dorothy Rodham.

Washington Post, Feb. 7, 2000

A Tepid Uptick in a Buffalo Suburb

Some Seem Less Wary After Watching First Lady's Announcement

By JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writer

TONAWANDA, N.Y., Feb. 6

At the moment Hillary Rodham Clinton made it official, the applause began in Peggy Augustine's living room. It wasn't ecstatic applause, to be sure. Nor was it unanimous: Some of her guests just sat, quietly watching the television.

Even so, the first lady ended the afternoon with more support for her historic plunge into the race for Senate in New York than when she began. The couple of dozen people gathered here to listen to the announcement speech like Hillary Clinton—most of them, anyway. They think she is very smart, though several had questions about the legitimacy of her candidacy. And she is growing on them.

"She's still got a way to go before I jump on the bandwagon, but she's getting there," said Marianne Rodgers, 56, who said she has concerns about the carpetbagger issue that are slowly abating the more she listens to New York's most famous newcomer.

That there would be so much ambivalence about Clinton's campaign at a party to celebrate its formal launching is a sign of the challenge she faces running in a state where she has no history. But the party itself was an event designed to address the root of that ambivalence.

Clinton's campaign had organized hundreds of other parties around New York—the goal was to have at least one in each of the state's 62 counties—in conjunction with her announcement today. The parties, according to strategists for the first lady, were a way of enlisting home-grown support for a candidate laboring to overcome her outsider status.

"I want this to be a people's campaign, a grass-roots campaign," Clinton said in her speech.

The Senate race ultimately will be decided largely by voter impressions formed by news coverage and television advertisements. Grass-roots campaigning is not a promising approach in a state with some 18 million people and more than 10 million registered voters.

But strategists say a volunteer army can make a difference in a close race, as many analysts expect the contest between Clinton and New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R) to be. And especially in upstate regions, such as this Buffalo suburb, good field work helps project an aura of authenticity on a campaign whose motivation

has been questioned, a fact that Clinton acknowledged today.

Therein is a paradox. While Clinton's celebrity and first-lady status inspires skepticism, it also invites curiosity and excitement that can be used to potent effect. "One big difference between Giuliani and Clinton is that her campaign draws so much enthusiasm and volunteers," said Clinton pollster and strategist Mark Penn. "She has the capability to have a campaign fueled by thousands and thousands of volunteers."

The reality for this crowd was that Giuliani is no more familiar or welcome a figure than Clinton. Someone living in downtown Washington could drive to Manhattan and back in the time it would take a Buffalo resident to drive one way. And there are historic resentments toward downstate.

"He's got all the New York City baggage," Anne Miller, a high school teacher, said of Giuliani. Of Clinton, she added, she may have a lot to learn, but "she's listening, she cares. She needs to care."

Clinton's campaign still has some organizational issues to work on if it wants a grass-roots army. Augustine, a longtime Democrat whose invitation list included neighbors and a group of friends who call themselves the "golfing babes," said the campaign promised to send her a video biography of Clinton, but the production was not done in time. Clinton scheduled a conference call with the house parties after her speech, at 5 p.m. At 5, Augustine phoned in, and the campaign told her the call had been rescheduled for 5:30. Augustine and her friends called back then, and were told the call had ended 10 minutes earlier.

Some of Augustine's friends were too polite to make an issue of another little problem: They can't stand Hillary Clinton. One guest, asking not to be quoted by name, looked over her shoulder to see that the hostess was not listening as she explained how disgusted she was by Clinton's support of her husband during the Monica S. Lewinsky scandal. "I work with abused women," the guest said, and Hillary Clinton's example "did a lot of damage."

But plenty of other guests were bracing for this year's fight. Bernice Spinley, an aide to an Erie County legislator, said when she announced that she was volunteering for Hillary Clinton, her son responded, "Mom, I can't believe what you are doing." Spinley said she has no reservations about Hillary Clinton: "She's a sharp woman. She's not afraid to stand up for her issues."

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Hillary: Running Against Rudy and More

Marie Cocco. Marie Cocco's e-mail address is cocco@newsday.com



THE TOPIC came up over breakfast, since it could not, after all, be avoided.

Her picture was on every front page, the familiar dark suit and serious blonde bob poised for the first time at a lecturn emblazed simply, "Hillary." Some of the women who gathered at a Washington hotel for a conference of the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association had watched Hillary Clinton's glitzy announcement of her Senate campaign as it was broadcast live. Then they saw it as the cable stations and the networks played the clips again and again until it was late.

This is where there should be wild enthusiasm for Hillary Rodham Clinton. The world-champion promoter of women's rights, at home and abroad. The first first lady to step out on her own, from the very beginning, and say she's got brains and she's got expertise and she's got ambition, and so what? The first to say openly she was a political partner, not a helpmate.

And still, over breakfast yesterday, at Patricia Borchert's table, there was among the women who couldn't be quiet about Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign a nagging sense that this race is not all it could be. The thrill is gone.

"What has happened in the past year or so has kind of thwarted any success she might have," said Borchert, a community-health worker from Wisconsin. "What has happened has tarnished her, too, even though she doesn't deserve it." As the group gathered in mid-morning to hear a discussion of the state of political play on their bedrock issues - abortion rights, access to birth control, attention to the special health needs of older women - there was no hint that any one of them would not cast their own vote for Clinton, should they be eligible to cast a ballot in New York.

And there was no agreed-upon diagnosis for the chronic syndrome, whatever its name, that envelops Clinton's candidacy. Except that it is very personal. And very political. But no one really knows how it got to be tangled this way.

Women don't particularly like her, the polls show. Especially not white women.

In New York, they prefer Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in a new Quinnipiac College poll. The ratio, 52-34, is an embarrassment.

Lots of smart, professional women, whispered a family therapist who did not want to be named, are still red-hot angry that Hillary did not leave her husband when that dog humiliated her on the world stage. Many others believe it really is the vast right-wing conspiracy that created a

distorted caricature of the first lady. And its ink has become indelible.

"I think she is daring to walk outside the perceived role of a political helpmate," said Judith B. Hauser, a public health monitor for the Ohio state government. "She's not doing the Mamie Eisenhower or the Nancy Reagan thing.

She's different. And anyone who is different is a threat to the status quo." And women like the status quo as much as anyone else, since shaking it up shakes loose all kinds of feelings best left undisturbed.

You might hate Hillary Rodham Clinton because of her husband, and what he did to her. For how she reacted to what he did, or how she didn't react. You might hate her because she's a carpetbagger. Or because she's a woman with ambition.

Or because she failed to achieve her goal of universal health insurance and then seemed to shy from the fight.

But you have to give her this. She's got guts.

She is not only challenging a popular and successful mayor of the toughest city in the toughest state. She is challenging a national psychosis that has taken hold about her very being.

If she is not cowed and defeated by this, you can bet she will not wither from whatever tools of torture the Senate club might use at her hazing.

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Hillary's Shocking Truth

By: Mickey Kaus

Posted **Tuesday, Feb. 8, 2000, at 9:29 p.m.**

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"I supported welfare reforms. He didn't." That's what Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton told the *New York Times'* Adam Nagourney last week, by way of contrasting herself with her likely opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (while at the same time denying that she is the left-winger depicted in Giuliani's mailings).

Mrs. Clinton seems to be referring to the 1996 welfare reform bill signed by her husband. This column has previously argued that the first half of Hillary's statement is correct--contrary to the fantasies of her liberal backers, she apparently did support her husband's decision to sign the bill. But did a tough welfare reformer like Giuliani really *oppose* the bill? Give me a break! Only Hillary Clinton would begin her first campaign with a big lie like that. Her bizarre assertion sent me scurrying to LEXIS-NEXIS, where sure enough, I quickly discovered ... that her bizarre assertion is true.

Giuliani denounced the 1996 law, primarily because of its genuinely nasty provisions denying benefits to legal immigrants (which President Clinton opposed as well). But he also whined like a Congressional Democrat about the bill's "lack of sufficient funding for day care"--a complaint that turned out to be largely bogus, given that the bill actually provided the states with a large increase in federal money per welfare recipient. (Why? States were guaranteed the funding they'd needed when caseloads were at record mid-90s highs, even though the number of people on welfare subsequently fell dramatically). According to news reports at the time, Giuliani's administration actively lobbied President Clinton to get him to veto the 1996 bill.

Giuliani even ridiculed Clinton's campaign pledge to fix the bad parts of the bill he'd signed (a pledge Clinton largely honored). At the time, Giuliani's stand allowed him to bask in favorable national press attention as a Republican mayor who bucked his own party and defended poor immigrants.

defended poor immigrants.

All this doesn't mean Giuliani's not a serious welfare reformer. His welfare commissioner, Jason Turner, the man who designed Wisconsin's highly successful reform, is making progress in applying the Wisconsin model to New York City. Unlike, say, Bill Bradley, Giuliani made it clear in 1996 he didn't oppose the core provisions of the bill (requiring work, eliminating the welfare "entitlement," and giving states authority over the program). It's also true that the immigrant cuts in the 1996 bill would have hit New York especially hard.

Still, in retrospect, given the success--so far--of the 1996 reform, Giuliani's opposition (like Bradley's) sure looks like a misjudgment. And Hillary wasn't lying. ...

Sentra! The New Name for Automotive Excitement:

Nissan's automobile designs, and its slick spokesman, designer Jerry Hirshberg, were recently criticized in this space. But maybe I was being unfair in not giving Hirshberg and the new, retooled Nissan time to show what they can do. Well, the company recently unveiled its new Sentra small sedan. You can see it by clicking here. Make up your own mind. I wouldn't want to bias you by suggesting, for example, that it is a bland little yurt of a car, an uninspired mix of design elements from the Honda Civic, Kia Sephia and Dodge Neon. ... Hey, at least it doesn't have Hirshberg's disastrous trademark drooping rear end! ... One question, though: *Donde estan los cojones?*

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February 9, 2000

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By CLIFFORD J. LEVY

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Bankruptcy executives complained to Congressional investigators that Mr. Brandt had promoted a \$10,000-a-plate dinner attended by the president in 1996 as an opportunity to influence federal policy. Republicans in the Senate called the incident one of a long list of fund-raising improprieties involving the president, and they urged the Justice Department to open a criminal inquiry into whether Mr. Brandt lied to Congress.

Mr. Brandt said the accusations were ludicrous, and in August 1999, the Justice Department told the Senate that "prosecution is not warranted."

Mrs. Clinton's aides say that donors and fund-raisers like Mr. Brandt have done nothing wrong, and that it is natural for people who supported the president to want to help Mrs. Clinton. Her Republican opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, has tried to portray her fund-raising as unethical, saying it is patterned after the president's practices.

In interviews, the donors themselves scoffed at the idea that their contributions had been tainted.

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Referring to Republicans who have criticized the Clintons' fund-raising, Mr. Brandt said, "What these people are trying to do is drive people like me from the arena so that their viewpoints can dominate."

Mrs. Clinton's network of donors includes Texas trial lawyers, Hollywood celebrities, New York investment bankers and others who assisted the president in his effort to collect the largely unregulated donations known as soft money to bolster his re-election.

Several of her donors stayed at the president's invitation in the Lincoln Bedroom in the White House and attended the so-called White House coffees, gatherings that aroused criticism that the president was using his official residence for inappropriate or even illegal political activities.

People who spent the night in the Lincoln Bedroom and have given to Mrs. Clinton's committees range from Walter Kaye, an insurance executive who helped Monica S. Lewinsky get her White House internship, to John Catsimatidis, the New York supermarket magnate.

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Another coffee guest who has become a big donor for Mrs. Clinton is Farhad Azima, chairman of Aviation Leasing Group. In 1997, the Democratic National Committee returned \$143,741 in contributions from Mr. Azima, whose company was involved in the mid-1980's in ferrying military equipment to Iran in exchange for the release of hostages held in Lebanon. The committee later reversed itself, apologized to Mr. Azima and kept the money.

Mr. Brandt, along with his company, Development Specialists, gave nearly \$20,000 to committees set up by Mrs. Clinton.

Another major donor, Bernard L. Schwartz, is chairman of Loral Space and Communications Corporation, which is being investigated by the Justice Department in connection with questions of whether it violated export laws by giving sophisticated satellite technology to China. He and his wife, Irene, donated more than \$40,000.

The contributions from those people are a small percentage of the amount that Mrs. Clinton raised last year, and her spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said the campaign had not hesitated to accept them. "It's not an issue," Mr. Wolfson said. "It's not surprising that

people who supported the administration policies would also be supporting Hillary."

Both candidates have used campaign finance as fodder for their attacks. Mrs. Clinton contends that Mr. Giuliani is reaching out for donations to staunch conservatives around the nation whose ideology is out of step with the state's. Mr. Giuliani has seized on the issue of soft money, which the law allows political parties to collect in unlimited amounts if it is not to be spent on candidates' campaigns.

The president has been dogged by charges that he channeled large sums of soft money into his 1996 campaign, and last fall, Mrs. Clinton began raising soft money through the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

After she collected more than \$360,000 in soft money through November, Mr. Giuliani questioned her ethics. Unbowed, she raised another \$300,000 in soft money in December, according to newly released records. Mr. Giuliani has not yet collected soft money but also has declined to repudiate the practice, leading Mrs. Clinton's aides to call him a hypocrite.

Mr. Giuliani has also tried to rally his conservative supporters by asserting that Mrs. Clinton has tapped into a network of liberal Hollywood celebrities, and her donor list includes many famous names, among them Steven Spielberg and his wife, Kate Capshaw; Tom Cruise and his wife, Nicole Kidman; David Geffen, Jeffrey Katzenberg, Norman Lear and Mary Steenburgen.

Like many of those celebrities, Mr. Brandt, the bankruptcy expert who held the fund-raising tea in South Florida for Mrs. Clinton, is a longtime Democratic benefactor. He has described himself as a friend of both Clintons and has stayed in the Lincoln Bedroom and attended White House coffees.

He also shares an interest with Mrs. Clinton in federal bankruptcy policy.

She has attacked a bill approved by the Republican-controlled Congress that would make it more difficult for people to seek legal protection from paying off their debts. The president has threatened to veto the bill.

Mr. Brandt has lobbied Congress on bankruptcy bills before, and he opposes this one. He said he had talked to Mrs. Clinton about the bill but had not lobbied Congress on it. He said that the bill would not affect his business, but that, like Mrs. Clinton, he disliked the bill because he believes that it will hurt poor people.

Mr. Brandt, who specializes in turning around bankrupt or poorly performing companies, acknowledged in an interview that when the Senate Republicans began investigating him, he and his wife considered withdrawing from politics.

"We said, 'What are we doing this for?' " Mr. Brandt recalled. "Why are we putting up with this? Why don't we just get out of the

process?" But I can't do that. It is just not in my constitution."

Mr. Schwartz, the Loral chairman, expressed a similar view. He said that if anything, the publicity concerning his involvement with the president's fund-raising had made him only more determined to help Mrs. Clinton.

"This has increased my need and desire not to be intimidated and not to be forced off the stage," Mr. Schwartz said. "I have to resist allowing this to force me away from my natural support of the political process. Otherwise, the bad guys win."

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Mrs. Clinton's aides say that donors and fund-raisers like Mr. Brandt have done nothing wrong, and that it is natural for people who supported the president to want to help Mrs. Clinton. Her Republican opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, has tried to portray her fund-raising as unethical, saying it is patterned after the president's practices.

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Clinton Bans Use of Genetic Makeup in Federal Employment

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8 — Setting what he hopes will be a precedent for employers nationwide, President Clinton issued an order today that prohibits federal agencies from using genetic information in any decision to hire, promote or dismiss workers.

The order will protect 2.8 million federal employees. White House officials said they knew of no other employer who had adopted such a policy.

Information about the human genome and a person's genetic makeup can transform medical care, making it easier to detect, treat and prevent disease, Mr. Clinton said. But, he added, the misuse of genetic tests can also violate personal privacy.

Several studies in scientific journals suggest that many people have been asked questions about genetic diseases on job applications, and some workers report that they have been denied jobs or dismissed from jobs because of genetic conditions in the family.

"We must not allow advances in genetics to become the basis of discrimination against any individual or any group," Mr. Clinton told the American Association for the Advancement of Science. "By signing this executive order, my goal is to set an example and pose a challenge for every employer in America, because I believe no employer should ever review your genetic records along with your resume."

Joe Lockhart, the White House press secretary, said Mr. Clinton's order, setting policy for the nation's largest employer, "sends a powerful message to the private sector about how they'll need to deal with the advances" in human genetics.

Scientists have developed hundreds of genetic tests that can help identify people with an increased risk of developing breast cancer, ovarian cancer, cystic fibrosis, Alzheimer's and other diseases.

In 1998, a federal appeals court found that a government laboratory in California, the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory, had for years conducted genetic tests on employees without their permission, and it said the practice might have violated the workers' privacy rights.

Scientists had urged President Clinton to adopt the privacy protections because of evidence that many people were reluctant to take advantage of genetic tests, or to participate in genetic research, because they feared that the results might be used against them.

Mr. Clinton said Congress should pass legislation to prevent private employers from discriminating against workers on the basis of genetic tests. Such legislation has been introduced by Senator Tom Daschle of South Dakota, the Democratic leader, and Representative Louise M. Slaughter, Democrat of New York.

The legislation would also bar insurance companies from using "predictive genetic information" to deny coverage or to set rates for insurance policies. Group health plans serving 50 or more employees are already forbidden to discriminate on the basis of genetic data, but the safeguards do not apply to people buying insurance as individuals or in small groups.

Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi, the Republican leader, said he had not studied the Daschle-Slaughter

bill. "But," he said, "we have a tight schedule for this year, and I don't now have that on the schedule for consideration during this year."

White House officials distinguished between genetic information, which may indicate a predisposition to an illness or disease, and the actual medical condition or disorder.

It may sometimes be appropriate for employers to consider current illnesses that impair workers' ability to perform the essential functions of a job, the officials said, but it is not proper to consider a person's predisposition to develop such illnesses.

Wendy R. Uhlmann of the University of Michigan, who is president of the National Society of Genetic Counselors, hailed the president's action, saying: "All of us are predisposed to some type of illness, but most of us don't know what it is yet. The more protections we have in place, the better it will be for all of us."

But E. Neil Trautwein, director of employment policy at the National Association of Manufacturers, said: "We have not seen any signs that additional laws or regulations are needed to prevent employment discrimination on the basis of genetic information. Existing laws are sufficient. Employers are doing everything they can to get workers into the workplace. We are not about to start

barring the door, especially in an area like this, which is fraught with the potential for litigation."

The president's order says federal agencies may not dismiss, refuse to hire or discriminate against workers because of genetic tests conducted on them or their relatives. Likewise, it says, federal agencies may not discriminate against workers because they request or receive genetic counseling or tests.

The order has several limited exceptions. For example, a federal agency could periodically test employees, with their consent, to see if they had suffered chromosomal damage or genetic alterations because of exposure to radiation or toxic substances in the workplace.

Clinton Aides Push Budget to Congress

By The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8 — Clinton administration officials fanned out across Capitol Hill today to sell the merits of the president's budget plan, but found no takers among the Republican majority in Congress.

Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers told the Senate Finance Committee that President Clinton's plan to eliminate the part of the national debt held by the public would be like a tax cut for most people because it would push interest rates lower.

Jack Lew, the director of the White House Office of Management and Budget, said Congress should adopt a restrained estimate of future budget surpluses, as Mr. Clinton has. To construct a surplus estimate just to allow for the bigger tax cut that Republicans want, he told the House Budget Committee, would risk a return to deficits and imperil efforts to assure Social Security's solvency.

Other administration officials, including Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and Defense Secretary William S. Cohen, also appeared before Congressional committees.

But Republicans said Mr. Clinton's budget called for too much spending and too little in tax cuts and missed an opportunity to use the surplus to overhaul Social Security.

And they said they planned to press ahead with a tax and spending plan of their own, starting with a vote in the House on Thursday on a tax cut for married couples.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2000

Mrs. Clinton Favors Access To Canada's Cheaper Drugs

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

ROCHESTER, N.Y., Feb. 8 — Wading back into an area that brought her both national prominence and a high-profile defeat, Hillary Rodham Clinton pledged today to push anew for universal health care coverage, proposing legislation that would give consumers unrestricted access to low-cost prescription drugs sold in Canada.

"We have to keep moving," Mrs. Clinton declared to an audience of doctors, nurses and researchers at Strong Memorial Hospital. "I didn't give up then, and I won't give up now. I have always believed health care is a fundamental human right."

She added, "We can never give up until we figure out a way to provide quality health insurance to everyone in our country."

With that declaration, Mrs. Clinton began setting out the ways she would try to make health care coverage a central issue in her campaign for the United States Senate. In contrast to 1994, when Mrs. Clinton and the president pushed a wide-ranging universal health care coverage that collapsed in the face of opposition from Congress, Mrs. Clinton argued today for incremental steps, starting — at least for the purposes of her campaign — with the prescription drug bill.

Under the legislation, pharmacists in the United States would be allowed to buy medicines from their counterparts in Canada, where, because of cost controls imposed by the government, costs are typically one-third lower. Although Mrs. Clinton did not mention it, similar legislation has been introduced in Congress by Representative Bernie Sanders, the independent from Vermont, but it has faced strong opposition from phar-

Returning to an issue that brought a humbling defeat.

maceutical manufacturers.

Mrs. Clinton noted that the drugs, both those shipped to Canada and those sold in the United States, were typically made with the same ingredients, in the same factories and under the same controls. "The only difference is that Americans are paying more in retail costs than the rest of the world," she said. "I was told that New Yorkers never bought retail. Well, that's wrong when it comes to drugs."

The restriction on reimporting drugs was contained in legislation passed by Congress in 1988. That measure was an effort not to control the cost of prescription drugs, but to assure their safety. The concern was that the Food and Drug Administration could not monitor the potency or quality of drugs that were imported into the United States, even if they had been manufactured here.

Jackie Cottrell, a spokeswoman for the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America, a trade association, denounced Mrs. Clinton's announcement as "an election-year proposal."

"Mrs. Clinton's proposal would overturn landmark consumer protection legislation by a partisan Congress, led by her own party, passed 10 years ago to protect consumers from unsafe, potentially adulterated medicine," she said.

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, Mrs. Clinton's Republican opponent, had

no reaction to her proposal, said his campaign spokeswoman, Kim Serafin.

As Mrs. Clinton campaigned slowly across the state, Mr. Giuliani followed her — but over the radio, not in person. He gave a series of interviews to upstate radio stations throughout the day, denouncing her qualifications and campaign at every turn.

In an early morning interview with WBEN in Buffalo, he did address health care in general, saying it was an important issue. "My approach to

health care is to expand coverage for people," Mr. Giuliani said, "instead of a government-controlled, government-dominated, basically government-run medical program."

In an interview with a Rochester station, he mocked Mrs. Clinton's proposals to encourage job development upstate, which include measures to promote Internet access and lower air fares. "I don't think she has any sense of what is going on in upstate New York," he said. "This information comes from a poll, rather than actually having lived in the

state, or being part of the state.

"On the other hand, I have lived here all my life and have been mayor for seven years," Mr. Giuliani said.

Also today, the mayor signaled that he did not believe the Conservative Party endorsement was necessarily closed to him, contending that if the party had a primary, he would win it.

The party's state chairman, Michael Long, has said he would prefer that Mr. Giuliani not run, all but saying that the mayor would not get the nomination.

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2000

THE ART WORLD

Gore, the Artist, Detours From the Trail to the Stage

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

Not every politician gets to grace the salons of the New York art world, as Al Gore did on Monday night.

With entree provided by his daughter and son-in-law, he found himself in an East Side gallery offering a paean to struggling artists, and then, with entree provided by a former Harvard mentor, he basked in the limelight at Avery Fisher Hall, reciting (well, reading) the words of Lincoln accompanied by a full orchestra and a nimble Aaron Copland score.

Mr. Gore, rigid in his blue suit, did not seem entirely comfortable in these uncampaignlike settings. When the Gay Men's Chorus concluded with a stirring "Battle Hymn of the Republic," the vice president had the good sense to step back from his microphone and tap it to make sure it was off, lest his own singing be carried across the audience of thousands.

But in New York, to paraphrase Willie Sutton, the art world is where the votes are, so Mr. Gore soldiered on.

He was billed in the happy chatter of a Lincoln Center press release as "a country and western fan who sings at the drop of a hat for friends and family." Although his father, a former senator, was renowned for his fiddle playing, the vice president has refrained in months of campaigning from any display of musical inclination, not counting a momentary burble of "I Just Called to Say I Love You" at a New Hampshire coffee shop.

On his plane to Florida today, Mr. Gore told reporters that he had been nervous about singing at Lincoln Center. Asked to give a sample of his musical abilities, he demurred: "I don't want to clear out the plane," he said.

The vice president is more at home in the visual arts, often taking up a brush and watercolors, although few outside his immediate family have seen his work. Before appearing at Lincoln Center on Monday night, he spoke at a reception in a gallery of the Municipal Arts Society on Madison Avenue. He was introduced to about 150 artists, musicians, actors and media celebrities by the artist Chuck

Close as a "dabbler." Mr. Gore interjected that this referred to "the frequency, not the technique."

However infrequent his moments with smock and easel, Mr. Gore impressed Mr. Close for having once referred to the "gestalt" of a painting. Still, Mr. Close, speaking to an audience that included Barbara Walters and Charlie Rose, delivered what seemed a casual slight to the budding artist by concluding, "If you promise not to make paintings, we'll promise not to go into politics."

Mr. Gore rejected the proposition. "I can't promise not to paint," he said somewhat solemnly. "It's one of my forms of relaxation."

But he pushed on, in a far more abstract talk than he usually gives on the campaign trail. He praised artists for their social antennae, saying they "have an early perception of trends in our society." He said he used to have an argument with his father about whether people think only in words, suggesting he did not. He affirmed his support for public money for the arts, his only applause line of the evening. The moment most remarked upon

by receptiongoers afterward was his quotation of Ghandi, saying, "You must become the change you wish to see in the world."

Afterward, Spalding Gray, the actor, pronounced Mr. Gore "astute and aware and intelligent." But Mr. Gray was not happy with the vice president's delivery. He said he was "very long-winded" and had spent much time stating the obvious, suggesting he needed to "find his way in" to a conversation better and be more playful.

Still, the evening ended on a majestic note, with Mr. Gore standing on the Lincoln Center stage and the audience singing along to the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" in what could have been an ode to the life of a busy presidential candidate:

*I have seen him in the watch-
fires of a hundred circling
camps*

*They have builded him an altar
in the evening dews and
damps*

*I can read his righteous sentence
in the dim and flaring lamps
His day is marching on!*

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2000

David S. Broder

All Politics Is Not Local

Hillary Rodham Clinton sounded like the public address announcer at Grand Central Station, calling off the names of upstate cities as if she were announcing the stops on the local train to Buffalo rather than announcing her candidacy for the Senate from New York. So eager was she to show off her newfound mastery of Empire State geography that she barely acknowledged the presence of her husband, the president of the United States and the man who is, in more ways than one, responsible for her unprecedented campaign.

Had he not won the White House, she would not have had the platform and national prominence as first lady to demonstrate her eloquence and her passionate commitment to her favorite causes. Had she not been so publicly humiliated by him, it's unlikely she would have sought such instant validation of her own worth that she moved out of the White House a year ahead of time to set up residence and seek high office in a new location.

The carpetbagger charge was obviously very much on the mind of the candidate, who was born in Illinois, educated in Massachusetts and Connecticut and lived most of her adult life in Arkansas and Washington, D.C. Thus her repeated and redundant litany ending, "And that is why I want to be your senator from New York."

I expect Mrs. Clinton will have a hard time winning the race, but of all the reasons to reject her, I think carpetbagging by far the weakest. As her prospective opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, toured all of the Sunday morning interview shows in advance of her afternoon announcement, I heard him speak enviously of Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's gaining control of the schools. But I did not hear him praising the charms of Poughkeepsie or dwelling on the important lessons he had learned on his visits to Jamestown or Utica.

Truth to tell, Giuliani probably knows no more about life in Cayuga County than Mrs. Clinton does. But he has the good taste not to fake it.

Even if Giuliani were not as parochial as most of the residents of the city he runs, the carpetbagger issue would be a red herring. These people are competing for a national office—United States senator—and they ought to be judged by what they can bring to that office and that institution.

It is true that there are some senators who seem to embody the personality and traditions of the states in which they were reared. Barry Goldwater had incredibly deep family roots in the history of Arizona from territorial days onward. Danny Inouye embodies the Asian culture of his Hawaii, as John Chafee and Claiborne Pell did the Yankee side of Rhode Island.

But the archetypal senators mainly come from small states. The big states such as New York more often than not choose people of large abilities whose talents would have brought them to the fore wherever they lived. No one in his right mind ever would have regarded the late John Tower—a college professor, short in stature, clad in hand-made English suits—as a typical Texan. More than one-third of the current senators were born outside the borders of their home states.

Would anyone maintain that California's two senators, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, embody California? Perhaps San Francisco, their home base. But certainly not the extraordinary ethnic and geographical diversity of California. No two human beings could capture that.

That is not to say they do not work hard on California issues; they certainly do. But the truth is that most senators—however long they have lived in their states and however typical they may be of its people—have to learn on the job what their constituents and local interest groups expect of them. If they don't, they don't win reelection.

As for their principal potential role in the national legislature, both Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton are exceptionally well qualified. There are too few successful urban executives in the Senate, and Giuliani's law enforcement background would also bring a useful perspective to debates. His election would strengthen the depleted ranks of moderate Republicans.

Mrs. Clinton is a match for anyone in mastering complex policy briefs and in questioning those trying to peddle their own solutions. She would clearly be a forceful voice for her views, both inside and outside the Senate chamber.

There is much on which they—and most New Yorkers—agree, but there are sufficient differences to make for a good campaign. New York can congratulate itself on having two such able candidates from which to choose. But it need not fret about who first set foot in Niagara Falls or who has tarried longer in Tarrytown.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2000

Michael Kelly

The GOP Pilgrims' Sad Tale

Washington is naturally and properly a town without pity. But surely hearts even here are not so stony that they cannot harbor just one small soft, sympathetic spot for a group of decent men and women who never did anybody any harm, and who suffer, these days, horribly and silently. Let us pause to contemplate the plight of the many who took the early plane to Austin.

It seemed like a sure bet once—more than sure, absolutely necessary. The '90s were not kind to Republican establishmentarians. In 1992 the unspeakable Bill Clinton took the White House and in 1994 the unworkable Newt Gingrich took the House and in 1996 the unelectable Bob Dole took a long, odd walk mostly by himself. For the better sort of Republicans, it has been eight years of constant, wearying struggle to stay just barely on the A-list. Eight years of lunch in a think-tank dining room, eight years of Kennedy School seminars, eight years of accepting the sort of media invitations—"C-SPAN 2? Why I'd be delighted!"—that once wouldn't have made it past one's secretary's sneer. Eight years of not really having a good reason to own a cell phone.

And then—George W. Bush. It was just right. The son would recover for the patient establishmentarians the good life his father had cost them by his losing ways. The national media said it was very likely so. The son, they said, was a most impressive man: funny and charming and handsome; and he could talk Spanish and he was a pretty good governor of a very large place and he had a lovely wife and he wasn't at all a bad sort for a Republican.

That last point was critical: The national media, every Republican knows, greatly influence who wins and loses these things, and almost ubiquitously, the candidates the media want to win are Democrats and the candidates the media want to lose are Republicans. (This, the media assure Republicans, is not a matter of bias, only an endless coincidence.) But this year promised something novel: The media seemed to actually kind of like George W. Bush, or at least not to actively despise him.

So, quickly then, to Austin, for speed was of the essence. The crucial thing, when the time comes for the plucking of post-electoral plums, is to have pledged your troth to the great man before everyone gets their troth in. With Bush, that meant right away.

The pilgrimage to Austin a year or so ago was a historic flocking—the planes filled with think-tankers and policy-paperers, admen and advance women, strategists and tacticians. The greatest made the trip—ex-titleholders of every weight class, from senator to Cabinet member to general, lobbyists so lofty they didn't speak to congressmen and consultants so lofty they didn't speak to lobbyists. There were flights from Washington to Austin so filled with egos that flight attendants agonized in the galleys over which to stroke first.

Months and months before the first vote was cast, the whole thing was sorted out. Everyone was for Bush—not because they adored him or in many cases even knew him, but simply because he was going to be elected. No one figured on John McCain.

Who would have thought that there would ever be an election cycle in which the media liked two Republicans? Who would have ever thought that they would *really* like a Republican? Would fall in love with a Republican? Why, this had not occurred in living memory.

Nobody who went to Austin ever thought the media would not prove fickle in their modest affection for George W. Bush, but the rules were quite understood: Compassionate conservative Bush, preferred over plain conservatives, would retain the pack's approval until he had secured his party's nomination. There would be plenty of time, as always, in the general election, for the media to discover that the Republican candidate was not acceptable after all, and to transfer affections to whoever the Democrat happened to be.

A man like McCain is a terrible thing. Establishmentarians have needs too. They have McMansion mortgages to pay. They have prep school bills to meet. They need to have some assurance that the world will not run suddenly against all known laws. It has taken us thousands of years to build up a proper order of things, media; let's not get all giddy and trash it now for the sake of a spring flash.

Remember your place, remember your role. Quietly, all together now, let's ease back on the Bush wagon—and we'll fix it good in the fall.

Michael Kelly is the editor in chief of National Journal.

Editorial Observer/HOWELL RAINES

When Personal Appeal Trumps Party Labels

John McCain and
independent voters
stir up the G.O.P.

Political consultants, pollsters and commentators like to nurse the impression that political outcomes are highly predictable along proven analytical lines, and sometimes they are. For example, a Democratic presidential candidate with A.F.L.-C.I.O. backing is very hard to defeat in the Iowa caucuses, as Bill Bradley wishes he had remembered.

But even beyond upset-prone New Hampshire, there is a wild-card factor in presidential politics that is much harder to predict, and that has to do with the mysterious chemistry that develops between certain candidates and those in the electorate usually referred to as swing or crossover voters. They may be true independents or people with wobbly party loyalty. They may be reacting to hard times, war or a political crisis like Watergate or simply feeling an inchoate longing for a leader who seems new, trustworthy or just different.

From time to time, a candidate pops up who can get votes even from people who understand that they disagree with the candidate on specific issues or even broad ideology. In 1976 Jimmy Carter, with his promise never to lie, ran strongly among independents and soft Republicans offended by Watergate and among working-class Democrats in the North who thought their party had

drifted too far to the left.

Four years later, those same culturally conservative Democrats had become Reagan Democrats. Ronald Reagan won the presidency in 1980 by cutting deeply into such traditional Democratic blocs as union members and urban Catholics. Mr. Reagan is remembered as the classic example of the candidate with supra-ideological appeal, and that is why John McCain paid a visit this week to Macomb County, Mich., a Reagan blue-collar stronghold, to appeal openly for independent and Democratic support. "That's the way you lead the country," he said.

It is also, handily, the way to defeat a primary opponent who is favored by the party establishment. A party's Congressional leadership and its governors seldom, if ever, favor insurgents who try to flood their primaries with independents and crossovers. In 1976, establishment Democrats ginned up the Anybody But Carter movement. In 1980 Northeastern and Beltway Republicans tried to

lure former President Gerald Ford out of retirement to stop Mr. Reagan, whom they regarded as an unelectable extremist.

But one of the greatest upsets of a seemingly inevitable nominee came in 1952, when Dwight Eisenhower defeated "Mr. Republican," Robert Taft. In that campaign, Peter G. Peterson, the New York investment banker who became Commerce Secretary in 1972, was polling and interviewing voters for a group called Citizens for Eisenhower. The interviews, he recalled, showed that with Eisenhower, "there was something there that transcended the issues. The stuff on Eisenhower would come pouring out: 'That's a guy I really like.' 'I trust him.' 'I really think he'd do the right thing.'"

"I wrote up a memo," Mr. Peterson recalled, "that talked about the transcendent importance of character and trust and how it was a far better strategy for Dwight Eisenhower to build on that than get on overly gritty nuances of his positions and Taft's positions, because he was seen as a transcendent figure that people trusted."

It is too early to know whether Mr. McCain can sail above the issues with a modern approximation of Ike's father-figure appeal. Mr. McCain is a hotter and, potentially, a

more divisive presence than Eisenhower was in 1952. Yesterday George W. Bush's surrogates were condemning Mr. McCain as hotheaded and disloyal for airing commercials that accuse Mr. Bush of Clintonesque dishonesty.

One danger for Mr. McCain is that he could wind up looking too liberal for G.O.P. voters and too conservative or overly abrasive to independents and crossover Democrats he needs. There can be other pitfalls as well for candidates who run as true outsiders. "McCain doesn't quite say if I ever lie to you, don't vote for me, but he says something like that," says Jody Powell, who was Mr. Carter's press secretary. "He should remember that if you say that, the press will hold you to it and decide that it is all right for all the other candidates to lie since they never promised not to."

Another kind of expectation game is, however, working in Mr. McCain's favor. Designated nominees are expected to operate with a tough professionalism and steady competence that Mr. Bush has not projected since he got tagged in New Hampshire. A defeat in South Carolina could be an irremediable blow to his standing with a Republican establishment whose support came to him so early and easily.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

She's Dropping Names!

WASHINGTON

I just love the perky campaign slogan.

HILLARY!

It evokes all those shiny divas who need only one name — Cher and Madonna and Charo and Ann-Margret. It also has a whiff of royalty. Those House of Windsor gals never bother with last names.

And yet there's something very "That Girl" about it. (Remember how Marlo Thomas, a struggling actress, had this inexplicably huge New York apartment? And now Hillary, a struggling candidate, has this inexplicably huge New York house?)

The familiarity of it makes you want to just call out to her, over the white picket fence in Westchester: "Hey, HILLARY, heard any hot commodities tips?"

Her new moniker crystallizes the question posed by the first lady's campaign: Is it possible to wipe out everything people know about you and start over again?

"In this moment of McCain, in this day of authenticity and character and personality driving much of the presidential race, can HILLARY wipe out the CLINTON in her life?" wonders Paul Costello, a crisis-management expert who worked as a press secretary for both Rosalynn Carter and Kitty Dukakis.

It is the ultimate in re-branding, as they say in the ad biz. If you thought it would be tough for ValuJet to leave behind grisly images of the Everglades by changing its name to AirTran, that was nothing compared with this bit of name-dropping.

Hillary is the first Cuban politician. All you see are the parts, not the whole, because she's always rearranging and changing the perspective. Different names and hairstyles and clothes and issues are deployed to send the message of the day, and we're left with a fractured jumble of pink and black, frizzy and straight, Cubs and Yankees, staff firings and tossed salads, second fiddle and first string, two for the price of one and one for the price of two.

I picture her corner office at campaign headquarters in New York with four incoming phone lines: Hillary Rodham, Hillary Clinton, Hillary Rodham Clinton and HILLARY.

Suha Arafat can send kisses on the H.R.C. line, while her new Jewish relatives can say "Shalom" on the HILLARY line.

Hollywood can come in on all four lines. So can Al Sharpton, but he goes straight to voice mail.

It's hard keeping all those lines from getting crossed. The blond Hillary Rodham Clinton wears pastels and pumps and plans state dinners. The blonder HILLARY wears black pantsuits and black androgynous shoes and brings chicken and rice casseroles to suburban potluck dinners.

H.R.C. always lived in taxpayer-financed housing. HILLARY can't believe how much she has to pay in taxes. H.R.C. was the great liberal hope. HILLARY believes the era of big government is over. H.R.C. believes in redemption. HILLARY believes in the death penalty.

H.R.C. is introduced by her husband on stage. HILLARY doesn't introduce her husband on stage. H.R.C.'s husband is the president. HILLARY's husband needs a caddy.

HILLARY told The Times's Adam Nagourney that she was stung when some of her early Senate supporters deserted her when the going got rough. But H.R.C. and her husband are famous for turning friends and supporters into roadkill when the going gets rough.

The last few years, H.R.C. acted as though her loftiest goals were decorating at Christmas and lunching with gossip columnists. But now HILLARY's aides are busy spinning that backstage she has been, as Newsweek put it, "a West Wing fixer... an aggressive and committed policymaker and strategist."

What HILLARY really wants is a time warp where everyone would forget the last eight pesky years. If only she could recapture her age of innocence, before her tacky brothers tainted the name Rodham and before her husband tarnished the name Clinton.

Maybe, as the campaign wears on, the candidate formerly known as first lady will shed her first name also and, Prince-like, adopt a symbol instead of a name.

Maybe, given the voters she most desperately needs, she could use the circle and cross that designates Woman. Or have just a perky "1."

Given that she is such a puzzle, there is really only one perfect symbol: "2" □

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2000

CDC Funds Diversion Is Probed

Hill Panel, Shalala Scrutinizing Agency

By VALERIE STRAUSS
and JOE STEPHENS
Washington Post Staff Writers

The House Commerce Committee launched an investigation yesterday into how the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention diverted millions of dollars in federal funding, while Health and Human Services Secretary Donna E. Shalala said she was taking "unprecedented and aggressive action" at the agency to regain the trust of Congress.

In a letter to CDC Director Jeffrey P. Koplan, Commerce Committee Chairman Thomas J. Bliley Jr. (R-Va.) said his panel has "grave questions about the management of funds" at one of the agency's centers and about "the truthfulness of CDC statements" to Congress.

Bliley cited a Washington Post article on Feb. 2 that reported that the CDC had told Congress it spent as much as \$7.5 million a year fighting a deadly germ known as hantavirus, when much of the money had in fact been spent on other exotic diseases, such as Ebola and Lassa fevers. Koplan issued a statement last week saying the agency had "made a mistake" by telling Congress that it spent the money, as appropriated, for hantavirus.

Last year, Koplan apologized to Congress after an audit revealed that the CDC had diverted or could not account for as much as \$12.9 million appropriated for research into chronic fatigue syndrome.

CDC critics have called for a Justice Department probe to determine whether the agency violated laws against lying to Congress.

Appearing before a House Appropriations subcommittee, Shalala said the CDC is the "world's premier public health agency" but she recognized that it has lost the trust of the panel. To start regaining that trust, she said, she is ordering more scrutiny over agency expen-

ditures and requiring top managers to take budget training.

"I have zero tolerance for inaccurate reporting and inaccurate statements," Shalala said.

Still, the chairman of the subcommittee, John Edward Porter (R-Ill.), said he has concerns about "the culture" of the CDC. "There is something going on within this institution that leads to a cavalier approach" in its dealings with Congress, he said.

Shalala said that she and Koplan are developing a strategy for fixing the problems. "Today I am taking very unprecedented and aggressive action to regain the trust of this committee," she said.

That action, Shalala said, includes ordering the CDC's chief financial officer to review and certify all expenditures in all divisions of the agency, creating a "second signature" on every document.

She said she is also ordering all senior decision-makers to undergo budget training, a step that expands a budget training program for lower-level employees instituted last summer by Koplan.

"This is the equivalent of a stand-down in the military," Shalala said.

Porter said that while the chronic fatigue syndrome diversion—and subsequent incorrect reporting to Congress about how the appropriated money was used—occurred under Koplan's predecessor, the latest disclosure about hantavirus money occurred during his tenure.

"This raises questions as to what other inaccuracies there might be," said Porter, who is holding a hearing Thursday to question CDC officials.

Approaching Health Care One Step At a Time

First Lady Cites Lessons From Past

By JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writer

ROCHESTER, N.Y., Feb. 8—Hillary Rodham Clinton and health care, two controversial subjects that once proved combustible in combination, were back together again this afternoon.

Hillary Clinton, the would-be health care reform czar of 1993 and 1994, advocated a big plan that aimed to overhaul an industry. Hillary Clinton, the would-be senator of 2000, said she has learned from the past and is now a devotee of one-step-at-a-time solutions.

Rather than running from perhaps the most contentious chapter of her years as first lady, the now official candidate treated the past with dry understatement.

"You may remember that I had a few things to say about health care in 1993 and 1994," she told the audience of doctors, nurses and medical students here at Strong Memorial Hospital, which is affiliated with the University of Rochester. Acknowledging that "we were not successful" then, she said, "We all learned" from failure. Pledging that she is now eager to join the issue again, she added, "I didn't give up then and I won't give up now."

At a news conference earlier in the day, she critiqued the Clinton administration's handling of its defining policy initiative of the first term. Asked if the problem was the substance of the program she and President Clinton offered or the political approach they pursued in promoting it, she declined to choose: "It's hard to totally dissect."

But then she went on to suggest that her shortcomings were more political than programmatic. "There were problems in the way we went about it, and what we assumed was possible in our political system," she said. She also cited "our failure to communicate clearly what was in our plan."

Asked if America would be better off if her plan had been implemented, Clinton demurred. "I had no expectation that it would ever have passed as presented," she said. "When we presented it, we said it was a work in progress and we expected it to be the subject of debate" and compromise.

Clinton asserted that her Republican opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, has embraced elements of her old approach. She said she has read reports that the mayor advocates helping small businesses reduce health care costs by pooling their resources in "big conglomerates" in ways that are similar to the regional alliances she once advocated.

Her proposals today were more limited and standard fare for Democrats nationally. She backs a "health care bill of rights" imposing federal regulations on health maintenance organizations and a new prescription drug benefit under the Medicare program for senior citizens.

Just like seven years ago, there is a familiar villain: drug companies. She denounced what she said is the \$1.8 billion that U.S. drug manufacturers spend annually advertising popular prescription drugs. She said the companies' effort to stimulate consumer demand is responsible for 20 percent of the cost of drugs.

The first lady, who formally launched her Senate candidacy Sunday and is in the midst of an announcement tour of upstate New York, proposed no remedy for what she believes is excessive advertising.

But she did propose legislation that would scrap a U.S. law that forbids U.S. wholesalers and retailers from buying drugs imported from other countries at lower prices. Pirosec, a heartburn medicine that is the world's best-selling drug, costs \$3.30 a pill in the United States and only \$1.47 in Canada, her campaign said. Referring to her newly adopted state, Clinton said: "I was always told that New Yorkers never paid retail. Well, that's certainly wrong when it comes to prescription drugs."

THE RELIABLE SOURCE

By Lloyd Grove

■ At least two of the late **Sonny Bono's** four wives are pals. To raise \$15,000 for her reelection campaign, Rep. **Mary Bono** (R-Calif.) has invited supporters to Cher's Feb. 27 concert at MCI Center. The lobbying firm of Preston Gates Ellis & Rouvelas Meeds has made its skybox available.

■ Residents of Georgetown's tony N Street between 30th and 31st have been muttering for weeks about their unplowed parking spaces. Yesterday, after an army of plows was deployed to accommodate a nighttime visit by President Clinton, a few residents were kvetching (off the record,

natch) that they'd been forced to move their cars. Physician **James A. D'Orta** hosted the Democratic National Committee fund raiser at his home, previously owned by **Pamela Harriman**, and the plows arrived in the afternoon. At least

one N Streeter was delighted. "I'm so glad they're taking the snow and ice with them," said **Valerie Burden**, who happily removed both her cars to make way for the Big Kahuna.

■ We goofed in yesterday's column about **Harriett Woods's** book party. It's tonight. Our apologies to anybody who showed up last night.



FILE PHOTO: ASSOCIATED PRESS

Cher, helping out Mary Bono.



FILE PHOTO: WITERS

"The song encourages young people to use drugs and masturbate."

—New York Mayor **Rudolph Giuliani** on a Rochester, N. Y., radio station yesterday, referring to a **Billy Joel** tune, "Captain Jack," that was inadvertently played before his Senate rival's announcement speech.

In this corner . . . : Rudy Giuliani takes a jab at the first lady.

"This gives me a chance to point out the differences in our campaigns. I'm talking about issues that are going to make a difference in the lives of New Yorkers."

—First lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, a few hours later in Albion, N. Y., according to The Post's John Harris.



FILE PHOTO: ASSOCIATED PRESS

From 'Meathead' To Agency Head

■ The multifaceted **Rob Reiner**, in town yesterday to tout a nationwide survey sponsored by Parents magazine and this I Am Your Child Foundation, is not only an actor, writer, director and movie mogul (founder of Castle Rock Entertainment), he's a state government official in California.

After telling us about the poll's highlights—such as the finding that three out of four parents worry that their children will be the victims of violence—Reiner explained that he's so busy with his government and advocacy work, "I'm not in show business anymore." What a kiddier.

"I was appointed by Gov. **Gray Davis**," Reiner said about his unpaid state job—the result of a hard-fought 1998 referendum that he spearheaded to raise cigarette taxes by 50 cents a pack. "The tax generates almost \$700 million for programs for children. I'm chairman of the state commission that oversees the implementation of the program." Reiner, a 52-year-old father of three, said he's ready to beat back Big Tobacco's attempt to overturn the new

tax in a referendum next month. Meanwhile, he's raising money for **Vice President Gore**.

And even though Castle Rock's "The Green Mile" is in Academy Award contention, Reiner plans to stay home for the Oscars. "I don't go out. I'm very boring," he insisted,

adding that he's not even kibitzing with his pal **Billy Crystal**, who is hosting the March 26 ceremony. "No, no. He's so great he doesn't need my help. My only role is to prod him to do the Oscars, just because I know it's going to be a good show."



FILE PHOTO: BY LUCIAN PERKINS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Rob Reiner, quite possibly the hardest working man in show business—and politics.

Touched by a Peacemaker

The heavenly **Roma Downey**—**Monica** on "Touched by an Angel"—wings her way to Capitol Hill tonight for a special screening of this Sunday's episode of the popular CBS series. The episode is dear to the 38-year-old actress because it focuses on the struggle for peace in her homeland of Northern Ireland. It's about a group of Catholic and Protestant teenagers whom Monica takes on a summer trip to the States.

"They bring with them their suspicion and lack of trust for each other," Downey said from her home in Salt Lake City, where the series is filmed.

"There's a Romeo-Juliet kind of romance that blossoms . . . but it has a slightly happier ending."

Downey herself was raised in Derry, the youngest of six children. "I grew up Roman Catholic. I went to Catholic schools, and we lived in the Catholic areas of the city," she said. "I was in my middle teens before I knowingly was in the company of Protestant young people." Her homeland's "troubles" have had a lasting impact. "Still to this day, I jump dramatically when a door slams, thinking it's an explosion or gunfire."

Last night, Downey, who's



FILE PHOTO: CBS

"Touched by an Angel's" Roma Downey.

staying in Washington with pals **Smith** and **Elizabeth Bagley**, headlined a Kennedy Center fundraiser for Project Children, the organization whose mission inspired the "Angel" episode: bringing Northern Irish teens here for summer bondingsessions. "We've taken on lots of social issues, such as slavery in Sudan, but as an angel with an Irish accent, I felt it was time to do this one," she said. "It is my hope that when this episode airs, that we have the potential for 20 million people to be educated about Northern Ireland and that we can send their thoughts back home."

Royalties Ruling Mixed For Navajos

Judges Scolds U.S., Awards No Money

By WILLIAM CLAIBORNE
Washington Post Staff Writer

CHICAGO, Feb. 8—A federal judge dismissed a \$600 million mining royalties claim against the Interior Department but sharply criticized a former Reagan administration Cabinet member for secretly siding with the world's largest private coal producer in a dispute with the Navajo Indian nation.

U.S. Court of Claims Judge Lawrence M. Baskir said that although federal law did not explicitly require then-Interior Secretary Donald P. Hodel to act in the Navajos' best interests, the Interior Department had "violated the most fundamental fiduciary duties of care, loyalty and candor" in dealing with the Indians in their dispute with Peabody Western Coal Co.

The Navajos' principal claim of breach of trust was upheld, but their attempt to obtain monetary relief from the federal government was rejected. The tribe still has a companion lawsuit pending against Peabody.

Navajo Nation President Kelsey A. Begaye said today that the tribe was pleased with the "factual findings" in the case but disappointed that Baskir ruled the court does not have jurisdiction to award damages. He said the tribe is considering filing an appeal.

In their 1993 lawsuit, the Navajos accused Hodel of derailing a decision by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to increase the tribe's royalty rate on Peabody coal mining operations in northeastern Arizona from an effective rate of 2 percent of the coal's value to 20 percent. The lawsuit contended that Interior's intent was to let Peabody negotiate directly with the tribe for a royalty rate of 12.5 percent.

The court found that in 1985 Hodel met privately with Stanley Hulett, a Peabody lobbyist and former Interior official, after which Hodel ordered subordinates to block a decision on the 20 percent royalty rate and send tribal officials back into negotiations with Peabody without knowing about the earlier BIA decision. Hulett was described in court papers as being a "close friend and later business associate" of Hodel.

In a 26-page opinion issued in Washington late Friday, Baskir said there is "no plausible defense for a fiduciary [Hodel] to meet secretly with parties having interests adverse to those of the trust beneficiary . . . and then mislead the beneficiary concerning these events."

Such private meetings, the judge held, "betray the public trust." Nonetheless, the Navajos had been unable to cite any federal law that would require compensation for the government's "fiduciary wrongs," Baskir said.

Hodel, who served as interior secretary and as energy secretary in the Reagan administration and later headed the Christian Coalition, lives in Silverthorne, Colo. A spokesman, Joel Vaughan, said Hodel "remains convinced the department conducted itself properly at all times."

Giuliani Letter Has Clinton 'Outraged'

Fund-Raising Piece Accuses First Lady of 'Hostility' Toward Religious Traditions

By JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writer

The New York Senate race erupted yesterday in a barrage of angry words, as first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton accused New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of making false statements about her respect for religion in a fund-raising letter aimed at social conservatives.

Hillary Clinton's comments were the latest in a series of protests she has made about her Republican opponent's fund-raising, which the Democrat's campaign spokesman recently called "hate-filled appeals to the far right."

At an afternoon news conference, Giuliani said he stood by a letter accusing her of "hostility toward America's religious traditions" and wished that every New Yorker could read his letter.

At its root, the exchange revealed a paradox of the campaign. While both candidates are taking pains to present themselves as moderates, agreeing on support for abortion rights and other hot-button issues, an ideological battle is raging. Most of the time it is being waged through the mail, only episodically breaking through the surface.

Giuliani's mail is more rhetorically charged: A typical letter accuses her of being "a leader of the ultra left-wing Democrats" and claims his conservative values make him a prime target of the

"left-wing elite." But Hillary Clinton's mail also plays to the resentments, and sense of victimhood, that motivate the most committed activists—the ones most likely to write a check.

"They can launch anti-Hillary Web sites," she writes in a "Dear Friend" letter. "They can use their limitless war chest to run negative television ads. They can publish mean-spirited books and news releases. But they can never stop me from standing up for what I believe in."

In yesterday's clash with Giuliani, rather than relying on aides or surrogates as she has done for the most pointed criticisms, Clinton took up the charge herself. A Giuliani fund-raising letter, which was published in full on the Web site of the "Village Voice," notes the mayor's recent clash with Clinton over his effort to shut down an exhibit—featuring a Virgin Mary painting encrusted with elephant dung—at the city-funded Brooklyn Museum of Art. It continued: "Hillary Clinton further revealed her hostility toward America's religious traditions when she attacked Gov. George W. Bush's idea that we should look toward America's faith-based charities more than government programs to address social problems."

"As a person of faith," Clinton, a Methodist, told reporters in Rochester, "I am appalled that he would make false statements about me and my respect for religion in order

to raise money for his campaign. . . . I am outraged that he would inject religion into this campaign in any form whatsoever."

At his news conference, Giuliani said, "I did not inject this into the campaign," and accused Hillary Clinton's campaign of raising a letter he sent four months ago "to create an issue."

His campaign manager, Bruce Teitelbaum, said Clinton's campaign was trying to raise the issue to distract attention from a New York Times article published yesterday noting that some of her contributors were ensnared in ethical questions over their involvement in the 1996 Democratic fund-raising controversies.

Hillary Clinton's campaign has criticized the fact that some of Giuliani's direct mail is produced by the firm of Richard Viguerie, a fund-raising veteran who has worked for such conservative causes as the National Rifle Association and for Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.).

The Clinton campaign said Giuliani's charge was inaccurate: She has not opposed Bush's plan and supports faith-based social programs if done "within the constitutional framework."

Teitelbaum would not say who drafted and distributed the letter that sparked controversy. He also refused to release all the mayor's fund-raising appeals.

In response to a reporter's request, Hillary Clinton's campaign

did voluntarily release what it said were all the fund-raising letters she has mailed. Her direct-mail solicitations are devised by the Washington-based firm of O'Brien and McConnell, campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson said.

Not all Democrats appreciate her letters' combative tone and appeals to grievance. Upon receiving an appeal last month, District resident Kate Blackwell sent not a check, but a letter of protest to Hillary Clinton. She said the candidate's letter reflected "an unprecedented polarization of Americans, which you nourish with your allusions to unnamed others who you say are trying to stop you from standing up for what you believe."

Blackwell, who said last week she has not heard back from Hillary Clinton, said "to my shame as a Democrat," her party had joined "Gingrich Republicans" in resorting to inflammatory tactics. "Mrs. Clinton, no one is trying to stop you from standing up for what you believe, as you claim," she wrote. "Political opponents may be trying to stop you from being elected to the U.S. Senate, as is their right, but no one is trying to stop you from speaking out on behalf of your beliefs. . . . In certain countries, people are stopped from speaking out—by fear of being sent to the gulag, by beatings, by book burnings, and by bullets. Please do not have the temerity to compare yourself to people living under these conditions."

China, Russia Solidifying Military Ties

By JOHN POMFRET

Washington Post Foreign Service

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BEIJING—China's purchase of two \$800 million, Russian-built destroyers, the first of which sailed through the Strait of Taiwan this week en route to a Chinese naval base, highlights a blossoming military relationship between Moscow and Beijing that is raising concerns in Asia and the West.

Western experts and Asian diplomats say that over the last year, and especially since the Kosovo war last spring, Moscow's security ties to Beijing have surpassed the simple cash-for-weapons transactions that characterized the relationship for years and are evolving into something more complex and potentially far-reaching.

In October, the Chinese and Russian defense ministries signed an agreement to conduct joint training and to share data on the formulation of military doctrine. The same month, the elements of the Russian and Chinese navies took part in their first joint exercises at sea. The two governments also removed a major obstacle to bilateral military sales, currently valued at about \$1 billion a year, by compromising on China's desire to pay for weaponry and technical assistance with goods and Russia's demand for hard currency.

Asian officials, meanwhile, say that as many as 2,000 Russian technicians are employed by Chinese research institutes working on laser technology; the miniaturization of nuclear weapons; cruise missiles; space-based weaponry; and nuclear submarines. On Jan. 19, Russian Deputy Prime Minister Ilya Klebanov told reporters that Beijing and Moscow "are close enough" to agreement on joint use of Russia's GLONASS satellite-based global positioning system, an accord that would aid the Chinese military in targeting its rockets and air-to-air missiles. Russia and China also have announced a willingness to collaborate on a ballistic missile defense system to counter U.S. efforts to create its own missile defense system.

Western experts are split over whether Russia and China will be able to overcome their historic animosities to turn these agreements into durable cooperation. There are questions too about the ability of China's lumbering armed forces to absorb Russian technology and about the overall impact of Russian imports on Chinese military strength. Nonetheless, diplomats and scholars with a variety of viewpoints agree that the Sino-Russian relationship has acquired new energy since the Kosovo crisis and merits closer scrutiny from Western capitals.

"To pretend that this trend toward greater strategic coordination will simply dissolve before our superior strength or wisdom, or because in the past China and Russia have been unable to forge an enduring partnership is to abdicate the requirements of statesmanship," said Stephen Blank, a professor at the Strategic Studies Institute of the U.S. Army War College, who has taken a hard line on the emerging ties. "In general, I think we have been far too complacent about this relationship, but I hope that will change."

Just two years ago, a senior Western diplomat soft-pedaled the emerging ties, quoting Russian sources as saying that the quality of the systems Russia was selling China was inferior. Last week, the same diplomat cautioned that "if the Russians are giving them stuff that is as good as in their own arsenal they are criminally stupid."

The diplomat added, however, that there has been no concerted pressure on Moscow to stop sales and transfers of military technology

to China. He said Washington had pressured Israel to halt the sale to China of a \$250 million airborne radar system, "but there is no united response to Russia."

China and Russia are moving toward a closer security relationship largely in response to what they see as growing American hegemony around the world. This concern was spurred by U.S. global military and economic dominance, NATO expansion into eastern Europe, and what Beijing and Moscow view as U.S. use of the United Nations as a foreign policy tool.

The Russian-built Sovremenny-class destroyer Hangzhou left St. Petersburg on Jan. 4 with a mixed crew of Chinese and Russian sailors. The vessel, which will be the largest warship in the Chinese navy, will be equipped with sophisticated anti-ship Sunburn missiles. A second Sovremenny-class destroyer is scheduled to arrive in China later this year, followed by more Sunburn missiles in October.

As it sailed toward the East China Sea, the Hangzhou passed a U.S. Navy task force led by the USS John C. Stennis, a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier that on Tuesday became the first U.S. warship to visit Hong Kong since the Kosovo war.

China's shopping spree for Russian weapons has not been limited to naval equipment. In 1992, China bought its first batch of Su-27 fighter jets. In 1996, it signed a contract worth an estimated \$2.2-2.5 billion to build 200 of the aircraft in China. Last year, it signed a \$2 billion contract for 30 to 60 SU-30MK fighter planes, a senior Asian diplomat said, adding that negotiations apparently are underway on a deal involving the Su-37, a more advanced model.

Western analysts say China acquired the Sunburn-equipped ships as part of a long-term strategy—which also included the 1994 purchase of four Kilo-class diesel-powered submarines—to make U.S. forces in the region think twice about defending Taiwan. Taiwan, which China considers a renegade province, will elect a new president next month. The last time Taiwan held a presidential election, in 1996, Beijing fired missiles near Taiwan, and the United States responded by sending two aircraft carrier battle groups to the area.

While the Chinese are expanding their military ties with Russia, they are also pursuing a broader security

relationship with the United States. U.S.-China military contacts, suspended after the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade during the Kosovo war, resumed at a high level last month with the visit to Washington of Lt. Gen. Xiong Guangkai, director of intelligence and deputy chief of staff of the Chinese army. Later this month, the vice-chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Joseph Ralston, is scheduled to visit Beijing as part of a delegation of senior U.S. officials.

By almost every measure, China remains decades behind the United States and some of its Western allies in key areas of military technology. Some Western analysts see China's acquisitions from the Russians as an illustration of the failure of its own research and development agencies to close the gap.

"I think what the Chinese buy from the Russians or [other foreign sources] is a tacit admission that their defense industries cannot design and make the stuff that the [military] thinks it needs," said John Frankenstein, an expert on China's military-industrial complex. "The Chinese defense industries represent a worst case example of the problems of the Chinese state-owned enterprises—under-capitalized, lagging technology, over-staffed and poorly managed."

Even attempts by Chinese scientists to "reverse engineer" foreign weapons systems have failed, said Kenneth W. Allen, a senior associate at Washington's Henry L. Stimson Center and an expert on China's air force. Allen said that after China agreed to buy the first batch of Su-27s, it halted negotiations on further purchases because luck appeared to be on its side. Following the Persian Gulf War, he said, China obtained from Iran at least four models of Russian-built aircraft that used to belong to the Iraqi air force but were flown to Iran at the beginning of the war.

Negotiations for joint production of the Su-27 only resumed in 1994 or 1995, he said, after China's aeronautics ministry acknowledged it could not build its own sophisticated aircraft. "This was the final nail in the aviation ministry's coffin," Allen said. "Since then, almost every upgrade of existing Chinese aircraft has involved Russian major subsystems." The trend is not good for the aviation ministry and self-sufficiency.

Stalled judge vote draws Clinton's ire

He urges pressure on GOP senators

MCALLEN, Texas (Reuters) — President Clinton attacked the Republican Senate yesterday for refusing to vote on a Hispanic-American lawyer he nominated to be a judge.

Mr. Clinton cited the case of El Paso lawyer Enrique Moreno, nominated in September to join the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, as an example of politically motivated Republican inaction on many of his appointees to federal judgeships.

He acknowledged "there's always a political element" when the president is from one party and the Senate, which confirms presidential nominees, is controlled by the other party.

"But there has never been an example of what we've seen of the deliberate slow walk and refusal to have hearings, refusal to vote up or down on judges," he said.

Mr. Clinton was speaking to a sympathetic audience, many of whom were Hispanics, at a Democratic National Committee lunch that raised \$350,000.

He urged his audience to put pressure on their senators for action. "Tell your senators that when the president appoints a person who worked himself all the way through Harvard Law School out of El Paso, and the ABA [American Bar Association] says he's well-qualified, and Texas needs the judge, give the man a hearing and give him a vote," Mr. Clinton said.

"And if they're not for him, have the courage to vote against him.

Don't keep killing these things," he said to applause.

A second event in McAllen, 15 miles from the Mexican border, brought in \$250,000 for the re-election campaign of Democrat Rep. Ruben Hinojosa to the U.S. House of Representatives.

He said the criticism Hillary Rodham Clinton is getting in her race for a U.S. Senate seat from New York must mean she is doing well. The first lady announced her candidacy Sunday.

"We had a great send-off on Sunday when she formally declared her campaign and I think she's doing very well. I talked to her today and if you can measure how well you're doing by how hard they attack you, which I've always thought was a pretty good measure, she's a cinch," he said.

Republicans have attacked her over the playing at her official announcement of a rock song — Billy Joel's "Captain Jack" — that they said glorifies drug use.

Later, Mr. Clinton was to visit Dallas to attend a Democratic National Committee dinner to raise \$500,000 for the party's activities during this election year.

Mr. Clinton, forbidden by law from running for a third term, has seen his role reduced to that of fund-raiser and cheerleader for his party's objectives.

But he is a big fund-raising draw, and is using these private events to push his legislative priorities, such as more money for health care and education.

Hillary attacks Giuliani's letter, says it injected religion into race

SYRACUSE, N.Y. (AP) — Hillary Rodham Clinton, in the sharpest attack yet against her Senate rival, yesterday accused Rudolph W. Giuliani of "injecting religion into this race."

At issue was an eight-page fund-raising letter sent to people identified by Mr. Giuliani as politically active conservatives and signed by the Republican New York City mayor.

The letter, a copy of which was distributed by the Clinton campaign, was first noted by the Village Voice newspaper.

"Hillary Clinton further revealed her hostility towards America's religious traditions when she attacked Gov. George W. Bush's idea that we should look toward America's faith-based charities more than government programs to address social problems," the letter said.

Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson said the first lady had never attacked Mr. Bush's proposal and supports using faith-based charities to carry out social programs if it is done in a constitutional manner.

And the first lady, who was raised in a devout Methodist family, said she was outraged that Mr. Giuliani "would inject religion into this campaign in any form whatsoever."

"As a person of faith, I am appalled that he would make false statements about me and my respect for religion in order to raise money for his campaign," the first lady told reporters at a Rochester hotel, a message she later repeated to more than 1,500 people at Syracuse University.

During a November speech at the New York Theological Seminary in Manhattan, she thanked ministers for providing services to the homeless and others in need. Later, in response to a question from a minister, she stated: "I believe in faith-based institutions providing services."

At a City Hall news conference yesterday, the mayor said, "I stand by everything I said in the letter." He said he would "be more than happy to have everyone in the state read that letter."

The mayor, laughing and noting the letter had been sent out in Oc-

tober, maintained "it's the Clinton campaign that injected it into the race. ... The reality is nobody attacked her."

Mr. Giuliani's letter also complained about "liberal judges" who oppose posting the Ten Commandments in public schools. The mayor — who was educated in Catholic schools and who was once a First Amendment lawyer — said yesterday he supports posting the Ten Commandments but added that it should not be required.

The letter also attacked Mrs. Clinton for her complaints when Mr. Giuliani sought to cut off city funding last year for the Brooklyn Museum of Art because of its display of a painting of the Virgin Mary adorned with elephant dung.

"In the minds of left-wing activists like Hillary Clinton, I guess it's OK to use taxpayer funds to subsidize religious exposition as long as it involves the desecration of religious symbols," the letter said.

Mrs. Clinton noted yesterday that she had said "I was personally offended by that exhibit. I said it many, many times."

Clinton's advice sought on health bill

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Some lawmakers want clearer direction from President Clinton and Republican leaders as negotiators prepare to begin reconciling differences between House and Senate versions of patient protection legislation.

Mr. Clinton, trying to bring pressure on Congress, said yesterday the bill should cover all Americans and allow them to sue health providers for inadequate care.

But more specific guidance is needed if congressional negotiators are to reach a compromise, said Rep. Charlie Norwood, Georgia Republican, a former dentist who has led a GOP push for patient protections.

Other Republican lawmakers were expected to join Mr. Norwood at a news conference today to ask Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott, Mississippi Republican, and House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert, Illinois Republican, to meet with Mr. Clinton before negotiators sit down for the first time.

"They ought to be able to come up with something that's a clear-cut goal that these guys can work for," said Mr. Norwood's spokesman, John Stone.

An initial meeting of the House-Senate negotiating committee, scheduled for today, was postponed at the request of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, who has been hospitalized with a form of pneumonia. It was expected to be rescheduled during the week of Feb. 28.

The House bill, passed last year with the support of Democrats, provides the right to sue health maintenance organizations for denial of care. The Republican-crafted Senate plan does not. The House measure would apply to all 161 million Americans with health insurance, compared with 48 million for the Senate measure.

Mr. Lott has said the compromise legislation probably would include some provision for lawsuits. But, he says, "What we don't want to make it is just a lawyers' bill of rights."

Mr. Clinton said universal coverage and the right to sue are essential.

"First we want to cover all Americans; that's a very important thing," the president said. "And there has to be some way of enforcing a right or it's not a right. Otherwise, it's just a suggestion."

He spoke with reporters on the south lawn as he left for a political fund-raising trip to Texas.

He said he favored the House version over the Senate measure because it allows patients to go to the nearest emergency room, guarantees the right to see a specialist and prevents HMOs from forcing patients to switch doctors in the middle of treatment. It also provides the right to sue and includes all health plans.

Mr. Clinton said it has the support of more than 300 health and consumer groups, as well as 68 Republican members of the House.

But he complained that the negotiating committee has been stacked with opponents of the provisions he favors.

"Although I remain concerned that the conferees on the bill do not share the majority's view, I believe nevertheless they have a clear responsibility to ratify these fundamental rights, to put politics aside and pass a strong enforceable patients' bill of rights," the president said.

Inside Hillary's D.C. Game

She has played a major role on 'her' issues. Now that she's running for the Senate, her aides want the word out.



BY DEBRA ROSENBERG

RARELY ABLE TO SLEEP IN, HILLARY Clinton got up early one February morning in 1995 and glanced at stories on the front page of The Washington Post. Nothing too exciting: a federal crackdown on telemarketers, a marathon swimmer setting a record. Then a headline caught Hillary's eye. The Defense Department was attempting to slash \$150 million for breast-cancer research that had been tacked into the Pentagon budget. The First Lady was furious. For years she'd worked to raise awareness about the disease and fund efforts to find a cure. Now her own administration was cutting back. She quickly called her top staffers: this is wrong, she told them.

Hillaryland went into action. Her staff talked to White House chief of staff Leon Panetta. He wasn't surprised to hear from them. Panetta had already gotten an earful from the First Lady's husband. Panetta fired off a letter telling Defense Secretary William Perry that "the president was very disturbed" about the funding cuts. Before the sun set that day, the Pentagon was in retreat, with Perry vowing to protect the money.

When Bill Clinton ran for president in 1992, he offered the country a "two for one"

deal: elect him and get Hillary free. Mrs. Clinton envisioned herself breaking from the mold of past First Ladies and promoting a far more sweeping policy agenda. Yet those expectations were crushed early on. Her first major undertaking—the elaborate plan to reform the nation's health-care system—was a painful failure, widely ridiculed as cumbersome and confusing. Wounded, she publicly retreated to less controversial issues—preserving the arts, preventing teen pregnancy, curbing school violence. Mrs. Clinton did little to counter a growing public view that she had become a more traditional First Lady. This was partly out of necessity. After health care, Hillary was a political pariah. Few in the Capitol or White House wanted her associated with their causes. "She became a sadder person," says one former administration aide. "Whatever sun she had in her view of Washington was erased."

Yet behind the scenes, Mrs. Clinton was anything but a retiring First Lady. Largely ignored by the press, she quietly continued working on the wide range of child and family issues she had long cared

Power Player

Wounded by the health-care debacle, her numbers soared during the Lewinsky scandal

deeply about. Over the past seven years, she has forced through major initiatives on adoption, child care, welfare reform and foreign aid—and has even managed to salvage provisions from her health-care plan. Her public-approval ratings also have improved—slowly, at first, then rapidly when she played the loyal wife during the Lewinsky scandal. Hillary can often get bureaucratic wheels moving—or stop them dead—with a simple phone call, making her a critical resource for frustrated policy warriors.

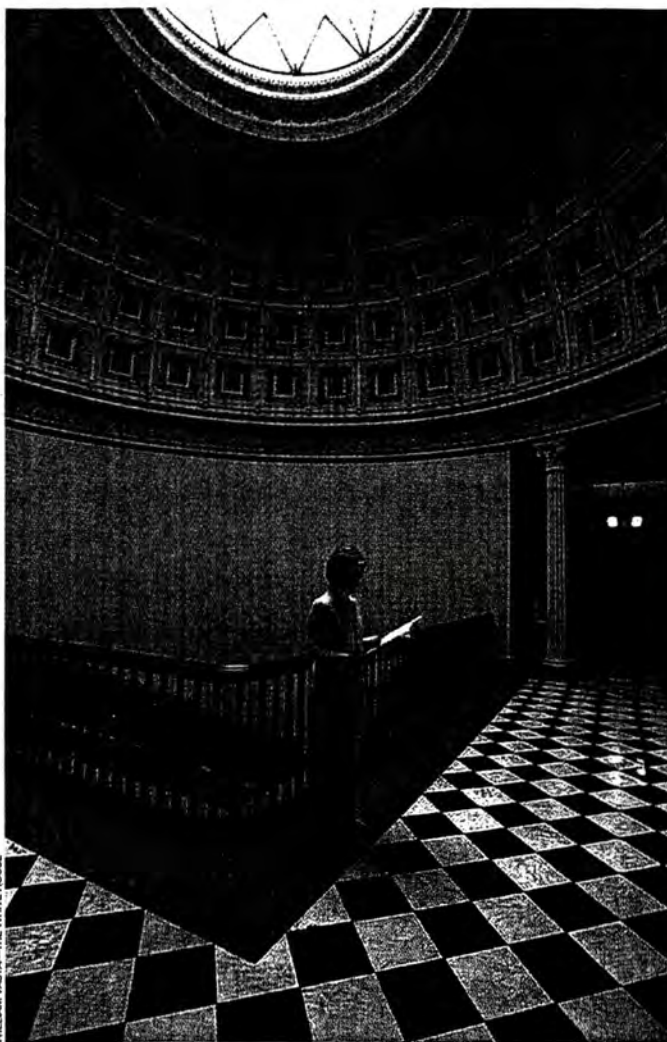
Now, as she officially launches her New York campaign for the Senate, Hillary's aides have reversed their public-relations strategy and offered glimpses of the candidate as an aggressive and committed policymaker and strategist. Her supporters, who previously minimized Mrs. Clinton's policy role, are now being encouraged by the White House to describe every detail of her backstage dealings. That image may not match what Americans seek in a First Lady, but aides hope it's exactly what they want in a senator.

After the health-care debacle, Hillary vowed to take "smaller steps" toward her

goals. Wary of the capital, she attended policy seminars and town-hall meetings around the country. She'd embarked on similar "listening tours" back in Arkansas (and has since revived the practice for her Senate campaign). Hillary would return full of ideas from her forays, lugging a crate packed with handscrawled notes, letters and newspaper articles. Staffers came to dread the sight of that crate, knowing they would be stuck listening to Hillary for hours as she sorted through the scraps of paper one by one, often reading them aloud. She prodded them to come up with solutions to the problems she'd encountered on the road. "I don't understand," she'd say. "Why can't we do this?" In the weeks after the marathon crate sessions, Mrs. Clinton's chief of staff, Melanne Verveer, and her policy team would scramble to answer their demanding boss's questions, meeting with White House policy staff and cabinet members and seeking the advice of professors and policy experts.

Mrs. Clinton often seemed most relaxed abroad, where she felt free to assert herself more boldly. At U.N. summits in Copenhagen and later Beijing, she had what one aide calls an "epiphany." She was surprised at how much even relatively small doses of foreign aid could improve the lives of children and families in developing countries. The word soon spread in policy circles that Hillary was passionate about protecting foreign-aid dollars. When the Republican Congress tried to slash those funds in 1995, the administration's foreign-aid chief, Brian Atwood, sought Mrs. Clinton's help. Hillary dispatched her staff to the White House to fight the cuts and instructed them to push the budget office for more money. The ploy worked. "Every single year she would convince them they had to go \$500 million or \$1 billion more," Atwood recalls. At one official luncheon, Atwood says, the president ribbed him about Hillary's cash grabs. "The First Lady called me this morning," Clinton told him. "Every time she travels she wants more money for your agency."

On road trips, Mrs. Clinton was also besieged by gulf-war vets complaining of mysterious ailments. She instructed her staff to look into it, and hired a former congressional aide to brief her on the issue. When the



WILLIAM VASTA—THE WHITE HOUSE

"[After her health-care loss] whatever sun she had in her view of Washington was erased."

—Former Clinton administration aide

Pentagon was slow to act, Hillary prodded the president and wrote him a lengthy memo. Her husband eventually took up the cause. He delivered a major policy speech on gulf-war syndrome, and appointed a presidential commission to study it.

At times the First Lady has broken with her deliberate, staff-led approach and done the pushing herself. In late 1997 Hillary's long-sought efforts to speed up adoption procedures—another "listening tour" issue—finally came to the Senate floor. But there was a snag. Democratic Sen. Carl Levin tied an amendment to the bill, a plan to set up a national registry making it easier

Smaller Steps

Hillary never stopped pushing her favorite issues—children, families and health care

for adoptees and birthparents to find each other. The amendment threatened to kill the bill. Hillary invited Levin to the White House for a chat. The two talked alone for half an hour. When Levin emerged, he withdrew his plan. Yet Mrs. Clinton has been reluctant to make noise on Capitol Hill. "The majority up here has such a strong and negative reaction to her, it's often more productive for her to be sub rosa," says one senior Democratic Senate staffer.

Still, Hillary gained a reputation as a West Wing fixer. When former Food and Drug Administration head David Kessler prepared to resign in early 1997, he fretted about a piece of unfinished business: requiring drug companies to test their products for the safety of children as well as adults. Though he'd only met her a few times, Kessler went to see Mrs. Clinton. "I need you to help me see that this gets done," he said. Hillary agreed to shepherd the proposal and, by the end of 1998, the FDA had issued new rules.

Health care remains at the top of the First Lady's agenda, though she has embraced a more modest approach. In 1997 the White House planned to spend \$24 billion to provide health-insurance coverage to low-income families. Hillary suggested a different strategy: focus only on insuring children—which would be hard for Republicans to oppose—and come back to parents later. The law passed; at Hillary's (and Al Gore's) urging, the president included coverage for parents in next year's budget. She also persuaded the White House to double federal funding for children's hospitals to \$80 million, and fought to win Medicare coverage for annual mammograms.

In the better part of a year that Mrs. Clinton has spent "listening" to New York voters, she has collected dozens of new stories. The crate is once again full, this time with tales of falling milk prices and high electricity rates, crime and school overcrowding—just the sort of worthy, wonky issues to quicken Hillary's heart. But this time she hopes that taking her causes public will get another Clinton elected to office. ■

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A banner for a free e-commerce seminar for retailers. The word "FREE" is in large, bold, white letters on a black background. To its right, "e-commerce" is in white on a black background. Further right, "seminar for" is in white on a black background, and "retailers" is in white on a black background. At the bottom right, "click here" is in white on a black background.

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First lady picks up Irish award, raises cash

WASHINGTON (AP) - Hillary Rodham Clinton was recognized for her work on the peace process in Ireland and helped raise cash for an Irish Democratic group that supports her U.S. Senate bid.

The \$500-a-head fund-raiser at the tony Georgetown home of Elizabeth Frawley Bagley, former U.S. ambassador to Portugal, benefited the Irish American Democrats, a political action committee.

The group's director, Stella O'Leary, said she expected to spend the maximum allowable \$10,000 on the first lady's Senate bid and would also spend money on Al Gore's presidential effort.

"This tonight will benefit Hillary's campaign," Bagley said to about 100 guests Monday night.

The event was billed as an official White House function, and at least one White House staffer attended with the first lady. Candidates are barred from using official staff for campaign-related events like fund-raising.

But Clinton's campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson maintained that the fund-raiser was to benefit the Irish American Democrats.

"We have no control over how they spend their money," Wolfson said.

O'Leary said the Irish American Democrats would hold another fund-raiser for the first lady on St. Patrick's Day.

The award Monday night comes after the first lady waded into trouble in the Irish community by agreeing to march in New York City's St. Patrick's Day Parade. Many Democrats avoid the parade because it excludes the Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization. Clinton's likely U.S. Senate race rival, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, regularly marches in the parade.

It also comes as the peace process itself threatens to tear apart. Last week, the 10-week-old Cabinet of Protestants and Catholics in Belfast was suspended after the Irish Republican Army refused to disarm. The power-sharing cabinet was the centerpiece of the 1998 Good Friday Peace Accord. The British and Irish governments are

working to salvage the joint administration.

Clinton said Monday night she was optimistic the setback was "a bump in the road, but it's going to be resolved."

"We have brought this to an extraordinary point, and we must finish it together," Clinton said. "I was pleased to play a role in trying to bring peace in a tangible way to people and try to bring it from the headlines to the breadlines and the work lines."

The first lady has visited Ireland several times and spoken out for the peace process. The Irish community is a powerful voting block in New York.

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February 18, 2000

Hillary attempts to end tip flap with \$100 bond

By Barbara J. Saffir
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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Hillary Rodham Clinton and her Senate campaign staff are trying to make amends with the waitress she stiffed early last week and stop the headlines caused by her faux pas.

The first lady mailed Tricia "Trish" Trupo a \$100 U.S. savings bond Thursday, six days after her failure to tip became news from coast to coast and across the ocean.

"We all felt so bad about the mix-up that we sent a \$100 bond to Ms. Trupo's son, Joshua," said Howard Wolfson, her campaign spokesman.

When asked who paid for it, he said Mrs. Clinton and the "roughly half-dozen" campaign aides who accompanied her to the upstate New York restaurant Feb. 8 contributed. He declined to say how much Mrs. Clinton personally kicked in.

Mrs. Clinton also is writing Mrs. Trupo a personal note thanking her "for her hospitality and saying she" looks forward "to coming back" to the Village House Restaurant in the small farming community of Albion, he said.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign manager Bill de Blasio telephoned Mrs. Trupo Thursday to tell her about it, Mr. Wolfson added.

Mrs. Trupo, a single 31-year-old mom who earns \$2.90 an hour plus tips, plans on using the money for her 11-year-old son's education. She works 33 hours a week and has no health insurance.

Mrs. Clinton, who receives extensive support from unions, is pushing to increase the minimum wage, improve education and make health insurance affordable. She stopped in the farming community with more than a dozen reporters, aides and Secret Service agents in tow after

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making a speech saying that farmers "are really hurting these days" and need federal subsidies.

Early in the day Thursday, Mrs. Trupo received a \$20 tip from a woman claiming to give it to her on behalf of Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Trupo's boss, Alex Mitrousis, said U.S. Census Bureau employee Cheryl Samilio Meyer left the \$20 with her card, explaining that she sometimes travels with the first lady.

Ms. Meyer, who works for the bureau's Buffalo office, did not return a phone message. She previously worked as a "field operations manager" for New York Comptroller H. Carl McCall, according to news reports. Mr. McCall, a Democrat, attended Mrs. Clinton's "official" campaign announcement in Westchester County Feb. 6.

Mr. Wolfson said he didn't "know anything about" Ms. Meyer's action.

Mrs. Clinton's trip to the restaurant in Albion was the first public stop on her first "official" campaign swing.

After The Washington Times reported that the small town was buzzing about her failure to leave a tip for the waitress after eating two orders of eggs, the story also appeared in the Buffalo News' Sunday editions.

Buffalo is a key city in Mrs. Clinton's battle with New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the Republican who is expected to challenge her for the seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat.

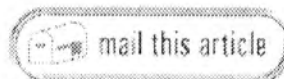
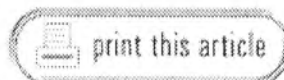
The story spread to New York City, London and across the country on radio talk shows and TV, where "Tonight" show host Jay Leno joked about the incident. It also prompted more than 100 visitors to a conservative Web site to send the waitress a total of more than \$500.

Meanwhile, life in Albion still hasn't returned to normal.

"It is getting crazier," Mr. Mitrousis said Thursday. "Still, people are calling from all over the country . . . Why is there such a big interest? I can't understand. It was an oversight."

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March 13, 2000

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The Sounds of Silence

Where were the leaders, especially the Democrats, who could speak with conviction and compassion in the aftermath of the Diallo verdicts? Out to lunch, mostly.

BY MICHAEL TOMASKY



For Amadou Diallo's parents, of course, the verdict is the only issue. For the rest of us, it's not the issue at all. Even people who think the verdict was the right one under the circumstances surely can't believe that the problems the shooting and verdict put on such stark display can, or should, be tucked away.

The issue, in a word, is *race*.

The Senate campaign in which the mayor is involved is supposed to be about other things — about health care and education and vision, among other pleasant topics. But now, for a week, at least, it's about something that wasn't part of the script, something that isn't upbeat at all, something politicians hope at all costs to avoid.

Rudy Giuliani wants to avoid it most of all, of course, since his relationship with black New York is the single worst thing about his mayoralty. And since he has to know the acquittal does him no good. If the verdict "is anyone's political problem, it's Rudy's," says consultant Norman Adler, who works with both Democrats and Republicans around the state. "When November rolls around, and the people against him start ticking off one, two, three, four things they don't like about him, one of them is going to be Diallo."

True enough; Adler mentions a conversation he had last week with a black assemblywoman who told him that she plans on working to make sure the memory of the acquittal lingers through November. Zoom the lens out. Picture black and Latino elected officials and preachers and community leaders all over New York (State — there are black voters in Buffalo and Rochester, too) invoking Amadou Diallo's name from pulpits and lecterns and street corners as Election Day nears. Anger over the verdict itself will have dissipated by then, fear of Giuliani's reaching higher office, on the other hand, may well not have.

A liberal version of McCain would have found a way to be politically adroit and still say something he actually felt, something that carried an emotional charge.

This kind of anti-Giuliani agitation will happen beneath the radar of the major media, which don't pay much attention to what State Assembly members do. The other question — and the more important one, since the "reality" most of us

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react to is the one the media create — is this. Is anyone capable of making a public and moral case against the mayor around the Diallo tragedy? Anyone who can argue credibly and to a broad audience that Giuliani bears such a degree of blame for the behavior of his Police Department in some of these cases that he is somehow unfit for the Senate? Those are tough questions, because Giuliani's answer will always be, "This city is safer than it's been in 30 years." And that's not an easy response to trump.

Al Sharpton can't do it. Constituency's too narrow. Calvin Butts — sometimes, when he finds the right balance between anger and moral outrage. David Dinkins? Too much personal bitterness in what he says about Giuliani. Mark Green? Too much against Rudy, on everything, for his words to pack a huge punch.

One person who can do this, if he chooses to, is Bill Bratton. True, Bratton detests Rudy. But on the subjects of crime reduction and police procedure, he can certainly speak with authority. He happens to have agreed with the Diallo verdict: "I didn't see this as a crime," he told me. "I saw it as a tragedy." And he has some very interesting things to say about the way the mayor has failed with regard to race relations. Two weeks ago on New York 1, he said the idea that someone with Giuliani's record on race could win higher office is "mind-boggling," and in a conversation with me after the verdict, he expanded on that theme.

"New York, more than any other city, had the chance to solve not only the crime problem but the race problem," he said. "Imagine — Giuliani could have been running now not only on crime reduction but on race-relation improvements. After the Louima case, while he was seeking re-election, he attempted for a short period of time. But the election's over, the Louima report comes out, and what does he do? Ignores it. The bridges were destroyed. Instead, we have enemies lists."

Rudy missed his chances by being Rudy, and by refusing to talk to anyone who doesn't see the world Rudy's way. In doing so, he's created an opportunity for Hillary. What's she doing with it?

Not much yet. Her post-verdict remarks were, as usual, completely flat. I asked both Adler and Hank Sheinkopf, a Democratic consultant, how they would be advising her to respond if they were on her team, and both agreed she was right to stick with the bromides. "She has to do nothing," Sheinkopf said. "Allow the pols supporting her to do the work for her." Well, they're the political pros, not me. But I doubt John McCain — who provided sharp contrast to Rudy's jury-has-spoken schtick and Hillary's vacillations when he delivered his amazing religious-right speech in Virginia Beach a few days later — would have accepted such advice. A liberal version of McCain would have found a way to be politically adroit and still say something he actually felt, something that carried an emotional charge. The leading liberals either said next to nothing (Hillary and Al Gore) or said something but said it from Seattle (Bill Bradley).

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I was in Rochester following Mrs. Clinton around on the day Wayne Barrett's story came out in *The Village Voice* about Giuliani's fund-raising letter decrying her "hostility" to religious tradition. Her aides called a press conference at the hotel that morning. When she appeared, she was clearly quaking with rage. Oh, boy, I thought. *Here it finally comes.* When she started talking, though, the language was lifeless. No personal testimony about her religious convictions, which are real, nothing that could remotely offend anyone. People who want to support her keep thinking, well, when such-and-such happens, she'll come out of her shell. But then such-and-such happens, and still she's on autopilot.

There's an upside to offending some people, which is that when you actually take a stand and say something that ruffles feathers, other people will feel compelled to rally to your defense. Race, and the mayor's record on it, would seem to offer ample opportunity to do exactly that. One suspects there are many voters who would like to hear Hillary say, with whatever qualifiers she likes, that people have good reason to be angry when an unarmed black man is killed for standing outside his house, and that the mayor has done nothing to show any sympathy for that anger. The chant "Fuck Giuliani," which I heard as I approached the corner of Boynton and Watson Avenues last Wednesday night in the Bronx after the Malcolm Ferguson shooting, may be just rage. But while chanting on a street corner is something powerless people do, turning rage into political action is something leaders are supposed to do. Tragedies can be exploited to good ends, too, even by politicians.

E-mail: tornasky@aol.com

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CNN World Today Interview with Lissa Muscatine
Conducted by Kelly Wallace – Full Transcript
February 4, 2000

KW: Okay, Lissa, what about the (inaudible)? I mean, what would you say have been lessons Mrs. Clinton may have learned after what happened with universal health coverage in '94?

LM: I think what happened is that she realized that there was a different approach to take to advance the issues she cared about. And I think one thing that's very important is that she never really gave up on the idea of public health, of expanding health care for people. She just figured out different ways to get the job done, and that's really what she's done over the last five years.

KW: Now you say "figured out different ways." What did she do differently, or what did she think that needs to be done to get the things she wanted to get done?

LM: Reforming the whole health care system was a huge task, obviously, and what she's done instead is push for smaller bits of what she tried to achieve. For example, health insurance for children who are not covered. Now—we now have a couple million more children covered than were before—that was one of her primary goals. Making sure that women get to stay in hospitals after they've had babies, and get that coverage included under their health care; and making sure that people who switch jobs don't lose their coverage. Those were the sorts of things that she has pushed after health care reform in the early part of the administration.

KW: She said, I think that quote was, "I now come from the school of smaller steps." So is that what she did, not just on health care but on other matters as well?

LM: I think that's right. I think what she's done is she's traveled around the country; she's talked to lots of different people; she's heard from them about the issues that have been problems in their lives and she's come back here and told her staff to start working on these things. And in fact, if you look across the board at health and family kinds of issues—children's issues—she's made a lot of progress and a lot of difference on a variety of issues in each of those arenas.

KW: What do you consider her most lasting achievement over these seven years that she's had the privilege of working as First Lady?

LM: I think that there is no question that she has had an indelible imprint on policy affecting children and families—whether it's something like health insurance for more kids; whether it's getting mammograms covered for older women every year under Medicare, which wasn't the case before; whether it's having gulf war investigated as a disease affecting gulf war veterans; whether it's pushing for better schools. She's just had an indelible imprint when it comes to children and families.

KW: And she also drew her attention, it looks like in '95 and a little bit in '96 and '97, on adoptions. I mean, how important is achieving the Safe Families Act of '97 to her in terms of her own look at her achievements?

LM: I'm glad you mentioned that because that's obviously one of her most lasting contributions. There's no question that in this country now, there are not as many children languishing in foster care year after year after year with no chance of ever being put into permanent families. There's no question that kids who are in foster care and then get too old for it now have some help afterwards when they get to be old if they haven't been placed into families. These are all initiatives that she really was the driving force behind. That's going to—may be one of her lasting marks, I think.

KW: What was she able to do—because you know after 94 she sort of learned some lessons (inaudible) driving force. Was it getting business, getting foundations, getting staff to go along with this? I mean, what was she able to do to take some of these bold ideas and make them a reality?

LM: She has really been influential and been able to make that (inaudible) in a variety of ways. I think she's used the bully pulpit of her office to some extent. She's used quiet influence. She's had her staff work within the administration—both internally within the White House as well as with agencies and with members of Congress. She's been a force with outside groups. She's been a coalition builder. In all of these different ways she has asserted her influence to advance the causes that she really cares about.

KW: We talked about (inaudible) on the world stage, in general. What did she try to do on the world stage, and what was she able to accomplish?

LM: Again, I think this is an area where she will really have a lasting impact. I think, arguably, she is the most visible and most influential voice in the world for women's rights and for children and families. She's traveled around the world as kind of an unofficial ambassador for this country, speaking out about democracy and human rights. She's gone to very remote parts of the world to heighten awareness about things like microcredit, through which women can become entrepreneurs in their neighborhoods and start to raise their own incomes and the prosperity of their neighborhoods. She's been a tireless champion of family planning overseas; for girls' education. And then, of course, she's gone to a lot of emerging democracies during this past decade, where they really needed some support from us and they really needed to hear someone encourage them on to stick with democracy, stick with human rights—that that was going to be a way to a better future for them. She has been one of the most visible people doing that in this staff, in this country.

KW: Do you think everything she has done has been one of the best kept secrets of the administration—or worst kept secrets—because, do you think people just don't know, don't get it, all that she's been able to accomplish?

LM: I like to say it's the untold story. Yeah, I really agree with that. She's done a lot of different things; she's had an impact on a lot of different arenas. And I think that after 94, a lot of people just assumed that because health care didn't go effectively, that was going to be the end of her involvement. And quite the opposite has come true.

KW: And do you think (inaudible) that people don't fully know?

LM: I don't think people really appreciate fully the breadth of her involvement, the depth of her involvement, and quite frankly the impact that she has had on issues that really do affect the daily lives of particularly children and families in this country.

KW: I need to outline for our pieces—so what kind of senator would Mrs. Clinton be, and let's take a look at what kind of first lady she has been. So I know you can't talk political, but if she does become the next senator from the state of New York, what kind of policies, what kind of approach will we see in Mrs. Clinton?

LM: I think what you can be guaranteed of seeing is exactly what we have seen when we look closely at her over the last, really, 30 years. She's worked for 30 years on these issues. She has a wealth of experience, she has a wealth of understanding about them, she knows a lot of people, she knows how the system works, and she has a dogged determination to get things done. And I think the other thing is that she really listens to people. She did it when she was in Arkansas; she's done it as first lady. And I think she will listen to people, she'll find out what the problems are, she will get to work and she will build the coalitions necessary, she'll bring people together in a way that results in progress. That's really her trademark from the last 30 years in a realm of areas. And I think that will be true again in pretty much anything she does.

KW: Thank you, Lissa. Anything else you would like to add?

LM: That's pretty much it.

(General chatting about what was talked about.)

LM: I could say one other thing. I think what she's also done is she's sort of used the convening power of her office. She's brought people together in ways, large and small, whether it's a White House Conference on Early Childhood Development, or a White House Conference on Child Care. Or to have small groups of people meeting to educate her about the issues or to help her figure out new ways of doing things. And that's really her great strength, is this ability to gather people and to get people galvanized to solve problems. In child care and early childhood development, where she went around the country and she urged doctors' offices to help start a prescription for reading, where they would encourage parents to read to their kids every night. These seem like small things, but in fact in the daily lives of people, they really can make a difference.

KW: It's amazing, I've heard people talking (inaudible), that even when the camera's off, you know, sort of talking to people and then getting to her staff, you guys, just to say, "Hey, I talked to this person, and they're having this problem. Can we do something about this (inaudible)...and follow up and follow up and follow up."

LM: You know, that's the funny thing. I hear people say, "Well, what's her staff going to do now that she's running?" Are you kidding? This staff is as busy as it's ever been, because she has not lost interest in the issues she started and she has no intention of giving up on those. So

everybody sort of cringes when she comes back with stacks of papers...(inaudible). She really is the hardest worker I've ever seen.

(Some general conversation about when Lissa came to the administration, etc.

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CNN

SHOW: CNN THE WORLD TODAY 20:00

February 4, 2000; Friday

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TYPE: PACKAGE

SECTION: News; Domestic

LENGTH: 519 words

HEADLINE: A Look at What the First Lady's Senate Agenda Might Include Should
She Win

BYLINE: Jim Moret, Kelly Wallace

HIGHLIGHT:

This Sunday in New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton plans to finally make it
official, by announcing plans to become the first first lady to run for the U.S.
Senate. What would be her agenda should she win?

BODY:

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JIM MORET, CNN ANCHOR: This Sunday in New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton plans
to finally make it official, by announcing plans to become the first first lady
to run for the U.S. Senate. What would be her agenda should she win?

CNN White House correspondent Kelly Wallace takes a look.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

KELLY WALLACE, CNN WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): From the
beginning, Hillary Rodham Clinton broke new ground as first lady, leading her
husband's efforts to make health coverage universal, testifying on Capitol Hill.

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP, SEPTEMBER 1993)

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON, FIRST LADY OF THE UNITED STATES: I am here as an
American citizen concerned about the health of her family and the health of her

nation.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

WALLACE: The experience was a political disaster. Critics not only attacked the plan, but questioned the power she wielded in the White House. Now Mrs. Clinton admits she's learned a few lessons.

CLINTON: I now come from the school of smaller steps.

WALLACE: Smaller and often less public steps. She pushed for government health insurance for children of low-income workers, now federal law.

SEN. CHRISTOPHER DODDS (D), CONNECTICUT: When I want to get the child-care numbers approved in the White House's budget, I don't call the president, I don't call the Office of Management and Budget, I don't call the chief of staff, I call the first lady.

WALLACE: Most of Mrs. Clinton's policy efforts focused on children, including kids waiting to be adopted.

CLINTON: Foster care should never be a permanent solution.

WALLACE: She lobbied Congress to increase incentives for adoption. Her husband signed it into law. She also convened two White House conferences -- one on child care, the other on brain development in early childhood. Matthew Melmed worked with Mrs. Clinton on programs for children under 4.

MATTHEW MELMED, ZERO TO THREE: She had a very pragmatic approach about what was the art of the possible, and how we could we try to move that forward, and I believe that that's how she was able to accomplish as much as she has been able to accomplish.

WALLACE: Mrs. Clinton also traveled to more countries than any other first lady, focusing attention on women's health in Pakistan, promoting women's rights in China and advocating microloans in South Africa. Aides say the first lady's policy achievements are an untold story.

LISSA MUSCATINE, HILLARY CLINTON PRESS SECRETARY: I think that after '94, a lot of people just assumed that because health care didn't quite go the way she wanted to, that was going to be the end of her involvement, and quite the opposite has been true.

WALLACE: And if the first lady makes her way to the Senate, her aides say the venue might change, but her focus on children and families will not.

Kelly Wallace, CNN, the White House.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

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TRANSCRIPT

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton

Interview with Eleanor Clift and Tom Brazaitis for their book on Women in Politics

February 23, 2000

HRC: And we, um, we're working with DC to create a DC campaign to prevent teen pregnancy. We never made any progress with the former mayor and this mayor is really on board about it so I'm going to give you that. There is a wonderful story because we now have the lowest rate of teen parents on record and we're decreasing the rate of pregnancy and decreasing the rate of abortions so I think we're all heading in the right direction. That's the good news.

The bad news is that you have neighborhoods and even counties in this country where the percentage of out of wedlock births are at ninety percent so we still have a huge concentrated population. But it's not just, you know, there are neighborhoods in New York City like that. What happens in rural New York, there are rural counties where the rate is forty percent. So it's a problem that is (pause) but we're making progress. We really are beginning to kind of reach teens but boy it's tough.

EC: [inaudible question and laughter many overlapped comments]

EC: Well this is for a book on women in politics.

HRC: OK

EC: And, um, so I'm going to start asking your perspective on why you think women have moved so slowly (inaudible) especially senate governorships.

HRC: Well, you know, I think that there are several reasons for it. One is the nature of our system which makes it very difficult for anybody to run for public office with the fundraising requirements, with having to appeal to a large electorate, especially if you're running statewide, with the relentless scrutiny and sort of media culture that exists. So I think that there are elements of this that are unique to the American political system. And then I think that there are issues pertaining to gender, and what people think still today as we begin this new century is the appropriate role for women. I just came from a DSCC lunch where the present democratic women senators hosted a lunch to raise money for those of us who are running and several of them were very funny. I think Blanche Lincoln said, "It doesn't matter what I say about an issue. If I have an run in my panty hose that's all anybody will talk about." Diane Feinstein said, "It doesn't matter how good you are on the issues, you're still judged differently. You can be absolutely a person of incredibly integrity and credibility but it is still a harder sell. You know I just think that there are issues that are kind of endemic into women's roles that are probably cross cultural and then there are these unique burdens that one bears in the American political system.

EC: (inaudible question)

HRC: I don't know the answer to that. I think that anything that furthers the definition of equality and institutionalizes it does have a ripple effect on how people view themselves and the legitimacy of the efforts that they undertake and how the society thinks about these issues. So we probably would have in some way contributed to lowering barriers but these are pretty deeply embedded.

TB: Do you think there's any reason to bring back the ERA and try again?

HRC: Oh you know in today's political climate I think it's unlikely it would be successful and I don't know that it would be a (inaudible) to the efforts to just engage in a battle that couldn't be successful. But I don't think that some time in the future if it appears the political situation has changed that it might be.

EC: In the early seventies, when you were (inaudible)

HRC: Well, I was pleased they were there. I wasn't there for political office so they weren't people that I looked to. I was more looking at role models like Mary Wainwright Edelman or Jane Adams or even people that aren't famous whom I knew who had labored in the trenches on behalf of children's issues and women's issues. But I was very admiring and as a little girl I had a liking for Margaret Chase Smith because she was one of the few people in the republican party and I was raised in a republican family, who stood up to Joe McCarthy and so I thought she was a woman of great courage. So I admired her kind of glitzy yankee integrity and so I often looked to women in public positions with admiration but I wouldn't have any sense of relating to them.

EC: (question)

HRC: No, not elected office.

EC: Right, when did that (inaudible)

HRC: Not seriously. People would say that to me but I was never personally interested in it. I always saw great opportunities in sort of citizen activism and political volunteer efforts and I very well might have at some points been interested in an appointive job. But I didn't think I was interested in elective office and I knew I wasn't interested in judiciary which is another thing people talked to me about. So I always just saw myself as a citizen activist.

TB: I think because you are a candidate running, younger generations of women are going to look to you as a role model and you and others...I am wondering if your own daughter has ever looked at politics as a possibility.

HRC: No

(laughter)

HRC: You know yesterday I called Margaret Daniels who lost her husband and expressed my sympathy and she said a lot of things about growing up the daughter of somebody in political life and that she couldn't get away from it fast enough. And I think that many young people are in that position.

EC: (inaudible comment)

HRC: Absolutely...(muffled discussion – get water)

EC: (inaudible question)

HRC: Well, Eleanor, I don't know. You and Tom have observed this probably more closely than I have over the years. I think that everyone has his or her own individual script. But there are certain givens...you're going to run for public life...a political position. And I think that for women there is still a greater scrutiny and burden about how its carried off and the stylistic range seems to be more limited as to what is or is not appropriate for a woman to do or say or appear. So I think that there may very well be some different scripts that come with gender just as they do to some extent with region of the country or there's a particular ethnic constituency that is important. There are all kinds of factors that have to be taken into account but ultimately it's the individual. Today in that room where we had six democratic women senators I'm sure they have some things in common but you know compare Barbara Michulsky to Diane Feinstein to Barbara Boxer to Blanche Lincoln to Patty ____ to Mary _____ and I mean you have some real variety there of experience and presentation and I think ultimately it's the individual.

TB: (inaudible question)

HRC: I think that oh you know the same old stories that people were talking about at the lunch today that if you got a run in your pantyhose that's more important than anything else. I mean I've seen lots of speeches and lots of student and you know not the greatest sartorial combinations but that's not usually what you should refer to but I mean it's just ...it's just those kind of superficial standards that are often still used to judged women in those roles.

EC: (inaudible question)

HRC: No, we've funded...(laughter). It was a big luncheon for contributors to the SCC. But everybody spoke so...

TB: The New York Times said that you acknowledged that your early campaign in their words was ____, ____, unfocused and _____. (laughter). I'm wondering why did things get off to such a rough start.

HRC: Well I was...I had to learn how to be a candidate. I mean when I started I said that I was going to listen and learn at Senator Moynihan's farm, and I really meant it. I had not made up my mind I was going to run when I started the listening tour because I wanted to make sure I had had felt comfortable about it, that I thought I could win, that I was doing it for the right reasons and so for me it really was as I said it was – it wasn't some...it was in and of itself an effort to

EC: (inaudible question) – you're even – it's a little more daunting I would imagine.

HRC: Well, it's a little more realistic. I mean that was totally unrealistic. I mean I have been I don't know how many campaigns – I mean that was the other thing – you had to get into it to find out how realistic it was – I mean it was totally unrealistic – it had no basis. The factors of going and putting together a political campaign and running against a very formidable opponent – at that point was he going to run – was he not going to run – with all of that going on. So for me I finally made the decision that I was going to do it when I realistically concluded after having gone through the mistakes and I was still even – I was still within the margin of error – I was still being called a carpet bagger. I was under all of this kind of mirage and I knew I could win because I had spent enough time on the ground – I had shaken enough hands – I had been across the state and I could tell how people were thinking about issues – so like you know – the fall, I began to get very convinced it was the right thing to do so I had to start seriously raising money which I really didn't begin until september. And it just made sense. But I think from where I started with all of these unrealistic expectations and encouragement to run to where I am today – this is real. That was...

EC: (inaudible), you must know that.

HRC: Eleanor, not only that. I was somewhere on one of my listening tours and I was at a college campus and a professor of political science came up to me and he said, "you know, Mrs. Clinton, New York has the second worst record in America in electing women to the government" and I said, "Now you tell me". And it's true. "I mean it's not only that we've never elected a woman to the senate, we've never elected a woman state-like anything. Except Lieutenant Governors who were connected to governors. Two or three of those which don't really count for much. Every other state except West Virginia has broken that barrier. And I've talked to a lot of people in the state – it's a very tough state. I mean the political environment is rich, complex, diverse and extremely tough. And it's like going through constant hazing and you know you really have to learn how to deal with it and it's daunting and it's offputting I'm sure for men as well as for women. But you kinda get into sort of a rhythm and once you get into the rhythm of it you see what's really going on. They dump on you – you get back up and keep going. It's like a little chit mark. They dump on you again and you get up and keep going and it's like anything else. Once you do it for a while you get the sense of how it works and you get ready to do it again.

TB: (inaudible question)

HRC: I hope not but I think there's obviously reasons for that. I was very interested in Elizabeth Dole's campaign, I don't know if you've had a chance to talk with her.

TB: We have spoken with her.

HRC: And I don't know if that's because (inaudible), and it turned out that she did. I don't know what that third means. You know because you can get a third to say no to anything in the polls and if that third consists of people that would never vote for a woman, there's a third of

people who wouldn't vote for nearly any kind of a candidate. So it's hard to know what that really means. Because if you concede a third to your opponent starting off that's a pretty daunting task...you're going to have to get the remaining two thirds to be able to win. But on the other hand I think so much of it is volatile. And it's hard to know who you would bring into a race, who you would be able to encourage to vote. I think that it is more difficult for a woman in our system again, on a larger scale, for the reasons that I talked about before. In a Parliamentary system, you know I'm not sure if Margaret Thatcher could have run and won in the (inaudible) but she could have run and win within her peers because they have worked with her, they acknowledged her as a leader, they accepted her philosophy, all she had to do was keep her small constituency happy and the inarticulated contingent (?) that she could get enough people to be able to carry. And there are some women you can point to around the world, Golda Meir for example who could emerge from a Parliamentary system again because that was a nationwide election when she was running. But there are very few in very few countries that have been elected in any system comparable to our system so you can't really compare apples to oranges in a parliamentary system and a presidential system. And I look at our system and the amount of money that you have to raise and the kind of relentless campaign that you see the four leading contenders in both parties ranging the men who show that toughness – the way a woman has to modulate herself in public - it's just so awfully difficult than it is for most men. I think of some of the things we have already heard from all four candidates. I mean you could take any woman we can imagine – pick an accomplished office holder like Diane Feinstein, who has proven her ability of real tough election in the biggest state in the country. And you could have her say some of the things that each of the four have said and it would have been considered inappropriate, unacceptable, offensive. She couldn't be as tough, or as whiny, or as sanctimonious, or self righteous. It would be – it would not work coming out of a woman's mouth.

TB: That's what you meant earlier by [inaudible].

HRC: Absolutely, and so you know it's so funny because you know I look at the women that successful – obviously I know the democratic women better than the republican women – and you know each of them I give a lot of credit to for overcoming these stereotypes and these burdens. But they have to be able to do it in the context of the state and you have to really work hard on the constituencies. You know I campaigned very hard for Barbara Boxer. You know Barbara's forming a committee in California who's turning out liberal women and minorities and she only campaigned in Los Angeles and San Francisco. She never went, that's an overstatement, but she rarely went to the valley or Sacramento or San Diego because she concentrated where her votes were and she was able to do that. Now you could imagine I guess in an electoral format a woman candidate being able to do that to some extent but it's really hard to imagine where this....

TB: But what percent about [inaudible] in your case if can't really be who you are and you can't express the range of who you are

HRC: Well you can be who you are but you just have to be very conscious that you're given no benefit of the doubt as a woman for being who you are. And you know think about Pat Schroeder and Pat Schroeder was a very accomplished legislator and very few legislators other

than male politicians [inaudible] but she did it. I mean you take somebody like [inaudible]. You know Bella ____ could be as tough as nails and it couldn't go statewide in New York. Or Gerry Ferraro who is a friend of mine who I think is fabulous – you know there is just, I don't know, there are – it's like living in the courtroom which I do know something about – you have to have your own style, you have to be able to present yourself effectively but there are just some things you have to be really careful about as a woman.

TB: [inaudible]

HRC: Well, you know, I just think that the different strip or the number of strips may be more limited than the number available to male politicians.

EC: The question coming up on your campaign why aren't your [inaudible] very direct and outspoken and they feel that it's very... who is Hillary? [inaudible]

HRC: But one of the things that the vice president found out when he ran for president is that it is very well known and then totally unknown. This man has been in congress, in the senate, and vice president for seven years and he, and no body knew he'd served in congress. Nobody outside of Tennessee knew he'd been a senator – I mean there he was – he was the guy behind the president. So why should you vote for the guy standing behind the president? He had to totally reintroduce himself to the American people. And I think that was a big surprise to him, it was a big surprise to me when I watched the campaign unfold. I have done exactly the same thing. I am the most unknown known person you can imagine. I mean nobody knows what I did for thirty years. You know all the work I did to promote republicans in the private sector. And people don't know much about what I did in the white house and that's understandable because both Al and I have been part of a team. Our job, as we saw it, was to support the president in achieving the goals of this administration which we both whole heartedly support so there wasn't much room or opportunity or even desire really for us to do anything other than to support the president's initiatives and cut, make a contribution to make them successful. So all of a sudden he steps out first and people are saying why should we vote for him – he's just the vice president. I step out and people say what has she done – who is she? So what I find is that's what the beauty of a campaign is – to reintroduce yourself to people. You can't assume that anybody knows anything about what you have done or what you care about and what I find as I travel around the state and as I meet with groups of people that once you talk about what I've done for I think three decades people think, "Gosh, I didn't know that" or "isn't that interesting" or "that's fascinating" or "gosh, I wish somebody had told me that". And so that's what a campaign is all about.

EC: [inaudible] unelected spouse who's taking credit for things that are going on in the White House – I understand that you are part of a partnership but this whole relationship is [inaudible]. Then there is concern about President Clinton and then the health care thing didn't work out. I know you have done lots of things [inaudible].

HRC: Well you know because I think voters who are voting for senators want to know what I would do if I were senator and I can talk about the things I have done just as the vice president can talk about the- you know none of us are in the white house for any reason other than the

person who is president – you know, he picked the vice president. I'm here in a relationship – you know everybody is. And so I think ultimately all of the accomplishments and contributions are his because none of us would have been given the chance to do any of this without being here and being part of this team but I think it is fair for people to know what I would have done and what I've tried to do and other responsibilities that I've carried out and that's why when I made my announcement and put together a video about some of the things that I've done over the course of a lifetime and certainly over the course at the white house because it is something that people don't know and since I'm running to continue in part the policies that I think are good for New York and good for the country I think it is only fair for the voter to know what I had to do with any of those policies and then people who wouldn't vote for me because I did anything are not going to vote for me anyway. But people who are among the 59% of new yorkers who voted for president in 1996 I think it is important for them to know where I stood on the issues that they obviously ratified because they voted.

TB: inaudible – As first lady you have been closer to the president than anyone except the person who is actually president. I wonder if you've noticed anything or seen anything or been aware of anything about that job that would pose a problem for women that [inaudible]

HRC: No I think it is totally up to the individual. I find that there is no blanket general answer to any question like that. There are some men who would be and have been great presidents and some who would be and have been scalding presidents. (laughter). And there are women if we ever get to that point who would be great presidents and women who wouldn't be. There isn't any general, stereotypical answer that can be given to that and I think it depends upon all of the personal characteristics related to the job and certain amount of stamina. You have to have obviously a lot of physical and mental and emotional stamina to perform this or really any job in public office – certainly an executive job. But I think that at the end of the day it's coarseness (?).

TB: You said your husband doesn't sleep.

HRC: not much.

TB: is that a requirement?

HRC: No no I think that if the job could be done differently – it depends on what your goals are – it depends on whether you're an activist or not – it depends on whether you're focusing on one or two things or whether you're interested in a whole range of issues that come before a president. You know there have been successful presidents in this century that have had very different styles. Even ones I disagree with but I would point to them and say that can be done differently.

TB: And you can testify to any woman who can [inaudible]

HRC: I think I can [inaudible]

(Laughter)

EC: I am going to ask you, in the dark of the night, you must think about the fact that you could lose this and you must have dealt with that. And so I'm awfully curious [inaudible]

HRC: Well, that's just not the way I see my life. You know I will have had an interesting full life no matter what happens in November. I want to do this because I really would like to serve in the senate. And I'd like to be on the front lines of solving problems that I see in New York and that I know exist around the country. But you know I wasn't planning to do this and I was looking forward to living in New York and writing and speaking and maybe working at a foundation or in some other capacity doing the work that I've always done on behalf of children and families and women's issues. And so in one way I will continue that work in the senate and if that didn't work out I would continue that work anyway so for me losing does not hold any fear at all. I think you get out there every day doing the best you can - you've gotta get better so there's more people to vote for you and you try to have fun doing it. I mean I'm having a really good time now - now that I've sort of gotten my footing and I'm getting in the rhythm of it - I'm having a good time. I love this. I like meeting people - I like talking about issues - I like the give and take now and I'm really sort of into it and because I have been able to more like what I did before the White House being a lawyer you know I just can't overestimate how different it is if you believe that you're here at the White House with more than a presidential agenda than if you were on your own as a lawyer of the poor or as a candidate now you know it's just a different experience. And so for me this has been a lot of fun.

TB: Just one more thing - is there any chance, in your mind, than even [inaudible] of the senate?

HRC: I think it is possible. I think it is definitely possible. I mean I think it's still possible for Elizabeth Dole.

TB: Yeah I think that's [inaudible due to laughter] if it goes on and the democrats follow...

HRC: I mean this could be a really good year for women if that were to happen - I can't predict one way or the other because I don't really even understand the candidate on the other side.

EC: I think you have gotten your ____ except ____ That was a mistake.

HRC: It's supposed to be a joke!

EC: I know I know but people didn't get it.

HRC: I thought it was the clearest way of saying ... I mean who can't make a salad or an omelet. I was amazed when people said ... I mean I had one serious man after I went - who I shook hands on a ropeline after the announcement who said "(whisper)" - it was a joke.

TB: [inaudible] get in a lot of trouble when ____ talk about food... (laughter)